

THE LABORER
AND
HIS HIRE



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THE
LABORER AND HIS HIRE

BY I. M. SHANKLIN



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TO THE WORKERS

*Of America, and the world, this volume is hopefully dedicated
by one of their number,*

THE AUTHOR

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CHAPTER I.

WAGES.

Justice of wages has no fixed standard in money payment. So long as wage payment in dollars and cents is to be regulated in amount by wage competition justice will remain unpracticed, for machines multiply with the multiplication of their human competitors and each new man competes as one, each new machine as thousands. Perhaps exact justice by the money payment system can be arrived at never. Wages, to be fair to producers, must correspond to production. The varying volume of production, one year with another, makes a fixed rate impossible, gauged by the unyielding standard of justice. A fixed rate is a slave rate,—food and clothes sufficient to make the slave profitable being both minimum and maximum. A fixed rate, such as this, not varying with the varying volume and value of products, has, since man has been hired by man, worked the industrial disaster of the class that receives wages.

In an industrial society where labor seeks employment a basis for wage rates must be found in the values of production or labor will be the victim of competing captains of industry. When men and machines multiply they who employ both reap profits. In such a state the advantage is clearly with the hirer, while the hired are content to let one man in a thousand declare the ultimate

liberality of wage-paying capital. This one in a thousand handles the products and the proceeds, and in a world of competition he serves himself first and chiefly. In a business order where survival is to the shrewdest the one who controls will survive. This is the order under which we live, and wages in money on the plan universal leaves of the labor product to labor enough to live on, and the employer, whatever his office may be, gets the rest. Employers, in an industrial order where survival is a question of destruction, being destroyed or destroying, look to their own interests. A surety for present profits they find in paying the lowest wages for which workers will consent to do the work. Year in and year out this plan no more results in the gains of employers than it does in the crippling of labor. It is the plan of selfishness that looks to individual gains only, shutting out the more general and more permanent prosperity a rational profit-sharing scheme would insure. Constantly it has been found to work the steady lowering of the wage rate in virtual disability of wage receivers to keep pace with the progress all about them. Constantly it more and more disadvantages wage receivers by the fact of human and machine competition.

Wages in dollars and cents are but a part of the consideration;—as such merely they may be fair or unfair. Their efficiency is limited by the degree of material comfort their possession will command. Their efficiency and fairness cannot in any sense be estimated by the yearly amount devoted to wages. Price conditions may more than nullify the good of a wage scale that appears high; the volume of production may make an apparently high wage rate greatly disproportionate to the profits of capital. As a vast total of wages we are informed nothing worth considering as regards the condition of those receiving them. The world's social organizations,

conditions of commerce in the regulations of prices, perform regulations of expenditures that leave no reliable basis for calculations. Totals do not show the degree in which labor shares the increased values impossible of creation without labor. Totals do not argue the worth of labor—they merely assert the power of capital.

It is the condition of those receiving wages that establishes the justice or injustice of the wage rate. Not their condition as a world of workers, separate and apart as a class peculiar and incomparable; not their condition in comparison with the workers of other nations where the circumstances governing production must be wholly or in part dissimilar. Their relative advance in material prosperity with the increased and increasing aggregate of wealth is the essence of wage justice.

A comparison of worker with worker in any field is profitless for wages in any occupation will grade always from the amount paid experts in responsible positions down to the stipend received by the machine-like operative or the mere drudge. Comparing field with field is likewise barren. In all industrial systems based on competition wages will vary from the rate prevailing in industries where there is comparative competition for workers to the rate paid by those industries where labor competes for opportunity to work. The balance will be quite evenly maintained, and all fields grow to the state where it is labor only that competes; there are occupations somewhat more sought than are others, but the crowding of one industry will never cause a permanent discrepancy to appear in the wage feature of that industry. There are sectional features as of population, that render some occupations less remunerative in crowded districts than are the same lines of work in regions where fewer people live per square mile. A seamstress in a thriving rural town can easily command three times the

amount her sister in the sweat-shop of a metropolitan district will receive, and all occupations open to fullest competition as well as those subject to monopolization work to a wage decrease and an increase to those who control the product in that particular line considered. In a purely competitive system wealth will flow to those who have by nature or accident an advantage over those competitors not strong enough, not skillful enough to grasp the opportunity. For the same reason wages will not be measured by how much a man can do so much as by how much another man whose needs may be more pressing will do the same work. This is the essence of competition. The same spirit moves competition between those who control labor's products, and while it continues, in a manner lessens the evils of wage competition. But in this land controllers no longer compete for the markets; they combine against the markets and the evils of double competition fall upon the wage world. Wages in this way become minimum, prices maximum, keeping, of course, within the limits of possibilities in both vital features.

To compare national wage rates is to compare degrees of civilizations. Governments, in the ideas they represent, are as indicative of wages as they are of other ideas vital in importance in the lives of the people. The condition of English workers, in average, compared with slave labor in the heart of Africa, the condition of American laborers contrasted with native labor in China, presents differences easily accounted for. To assume from this that English and American workers share to the highest they should in wealth possession is to eliminate all educational superiorities from the consideration. To assert that inasmuch as the condition of American and English workers is in advance of those in these other two typical districts, and, therefore, does not call for betterment

is the non-recognition of all worth as a factor in a nation's greatness and progress.

The only sure test of a wage rate is the economic status of wage earners as reflected by their social life. This stamps a wage rate as just and honorable or beggarly and unfair. If this rate has kept pace with profit rates the former is just. If the homes of workers show an increase in comfort comparative to increase of luxuries in homes of those on the other side of the dividing line, the wage rate is fairer than we know. If of the total wealth increase wage earners' increase keeps pace with wage payers', the wage rate is on a basis fair to all. If the lives of toilers show the same advancement in educational, moral and artistic opportunities the wealthy classes enjoy, the state of society is a right one.

The world, roughly divided, is made up of two economic classes. These two classes are the employers and employés. There are harsher terms sometimes used to designate divisions of the first class, the division that consumes without in any way, direct, contributing to production. But sufficient for the purpose of the present consideration is it to make the general division of the total of humanity.

The man of ease whose income is an inheritance may in no direct way contribute to the production or the wage fund of the world. Yet in the office of consumer he is indirectly both producer and employer. The demands of his life for productions stimulate to the extent of the demands, work in those industries preparing the diverse articles he consumes. This production all believe to be good and while such a consumer may be of no direct value to the industrial world, he is not the altogether useless character he is sometimes pictured. While the industrial scheme rests upon its present basis

he cannot be, but is, with his class, a qualified blessing, as are wars, conflagrations and destructive storms whose works are likewise to consume production without increasing it in return. This destruction, as we say, makes work and wages, and work and wages are the hope of workers. Theoretically and ethically he and his class are not only useless but positively detrimental to industrial society, absolute drones, consuming only. In an ideal industrial state where reward went to workers in the degree of production the class would be an unqualified injury, because as non-producers they would fail of an income and so be forced to express thievery, beggary or starvation. By some they have been assigned to the class of thieves and beggars in consideration of their comparative failure as producers and their relative destructiveness as consumers who do not also produce. This classification is true on the moral grounds that the right to material goods is the recompense of labor in some field. While products continue to be divided by any other standard of apportionment, the non-producer who holds wealth in any form is free to command the products of others' labors without being charged with mendicancy or thievishness. Wealth is exchanged for wealth the world over. The manner of accumulation in the cases of nearly all great possessions is usually flagrantly unjust, as no man can in an allotted life span accumulate a great fortune by honest methods as great fortunes are estimated in this day. But while the division of wealth creations continues as we experience it, inheritors and innocent sharers in the accumulations common on one side have no greater share in the wrong than those on the other side who suffer from the unequal division.

The community of individuals is responsible for the state of society in any given sphere. In the distribution

of wealth as prevailing practices accomplish it, workers as well as hirers are responsible. For so much as the charge of moral wrong is worth when entered against those who succeed in getting control of production, the robbers are but a degree more culpable than the robbed. The man who would without objection hand over his valuables to a highwayman and, who knowing the highwayman's haunts, persistently travels by that road every time he would transport treasures, would soon cease to hold the sympathy and confidence of friends. Our distribution of products is no less than robbery in a material as well as a moral sense, but if the robbed would come to understand that they are parties to the robbery they would cease to call names, cease importuning a just division and proceed to accomplish what they desire. If I hold a purse common to a community and in which the funds of that community are deposited, I am responsible for the funds so entrusted to me. If I negligently leave this purse where a thief can come at it, or entrust it to other hands and it is stolen and its contents confiscated, I would by any court of justice in the land and in the judgment of all sane people be called a party to the theft, even though my own money should be in the purse, and I should forever be deprived of its use, or the use of an equivalent of its use. I would have assisted in the robbery of others, even if by that robbery I myself had been despoiled of wealth. Any other member of the community who had been selected as guardian of the purse and who had permitted its theft by insecure guarding would be likewise responsible and equally guilty. If the community took all responsibility for the safety of the common fund and then by common consent agreed to deposit the purse holding it in a public and unguarded place, and thieves made way with it, the community would be a party to the steal, and each individual mem-

ber of the community having suffered himself to be stolen from would also have helped in the defraudment of every other member of the community. The thief who carried away the purse would have been guilty of direct robbery, every member of the community would have been guilty of indirect robbery. If the community had suffered in this way year after year, and the only measures of safety resorted to were those of protest, name-calling and an endeavor to get the thief to at least employ labor that wages might be forthcoming for the purse the following years, its members would by other communities have names applied to them expressing mental states as weak and irresponsible as the moral tone. A beneficent government would build a secure wall around that community, appoint medical experts and attendants to save the confusion of transferring the whole population to established retreats for the insane.

When the community, grown tired of such a lack-wisdom policy, causes the treasure to be securely guarded for the use and enjoyment of its members, the thief will cease to steal.

The class of employés embraces all of a population not included with the employers. It is true many men comprise within the scope of their individual activities the purposes and rewards of many groups in minute classifications. But all workers whose reward is daily sustenance are in this sense employés, and many more may be classed as such when their earnings, carefully husbanded, furnish a little beyond daily needs, and that little is added to the savings bank account of those fortunate enough to be able to provide against future inability to produce. In the correct phrase of the scientific classifications, a farmer who does all the work on his land may be both capitalist and laborer, his proceeds

named profits and wages, and if desirable interest and many other terms may be added to express his relation to himself and his returns for labor he performs. But all hair-splitting technicalities aside, he occupies as much the position of employé to the man who pays him inherited money for potatoes as the farmer himself may be employer to his shoemaker or to the lad he may find it necessary to hire in the busy season of the year. Not that the consumer covenants with him at the period of spring planting for so many bushels of potatoes at so much per bushel, or that even if he did would it constitute the accepted relation of employer and employé, but that in the matter of return for labor the farmer occupies the place of wage receiver. In the world field of profits and pay he cannot be called an employer.

The most explicit division that can be made in an effort to classify the participants of the industrial world into a class of employers and employés will be found in the line that separates the occupations favored by nature and legislation, singly and combined, from those less aided by the first, unassisted and sometimes hampered by the last. Some industries, by their nature and the controlling industrial orders, are less competitive and possess advantages over others which are competitive to the lowest point and are stripped of the little natural strength inhering by the conditions that favor the first. Persons engaged in these disadvantaged industries and the wage-receiving numbers of the land comprise the army of employés in the classifications made. All outside this, who are self-supporting, are in the other class, or class of employers. The division is made in consideration of the growing inequalities of wealth distribution.

The tastes and inclinations, the degree of education the laborer possesses, affects the justice of the wage rate.

This may appear a hard standard on the part of employers, whereby to regulate wages; it is certainly hard enough for all, under existing conditions. But it is the true standard, the only one that admits of progress on the part of the people. It is true the law of recompense here outlined provides for a constant growth in wage proportions until absolute justice between the producer and the controller has been reached; it would not be just otherwise. The higher the wage scale the higher will be raised the standard of personal worth in the ranks of employés; a rise in either virtue or wages calls for a rise in the other. It is a necessity which must be met. Depraved labor accepts low wages, lowers wages, dragging down with the wage rate the moral tone of the wage-receiving world. The general moral and intellectual status of any class will be advanced with increased opportunities for cultivation, will fall as necessity compels the utmost strain in the winning of bread. It is no cruelty to deprive the voluptuary of his accustomed rose-scent in the bath; his delicately educated sense misses it and he suffers in his weak way. But to deprive an intelligent man of his daily paper or scientific or thought educative book or magazine is an actual injury to him, for in the failure of his highest development intellectually, he loses, and society loses with him. He suffers and the world suffers with him.

The preservation of the worth of the worker is an essential in the consideration of wage rates. The idea is not Quixotic, visionary, Utopian. It is very reasonable and practicable,—it is imperative. Selfishness, diligently applying the muck rake cannot grasp its beauty for he is looking in the wrong place. Truth, looking to the future, wisdom, avoiding the mistakes of the past, unite in the demand. It is justice of wages we must consider and not what at present exists as the common

wage scale—pay as little as possible, no matter what man goes to the devil, no matter what nation goes with him. Plenty of laborers make cheap wages, as plenty of cattle make cheap beef, while laborers and cattle are subject to prevailing control. This has been the standard of the past wherein gold measured men; to-day when they are measured largely by promissory notes the wage rate determines that those who eat their daily bread between the same suns that saw it earned cannot be over-particular as to terms, a half loaf being so infinitely better than no bread. Let them be thankful for favors, however small, and not aspire to the luxury of brain and soul food. This age-accepted wage rate, this gold measure, promissory-note measure, is very much outgrown by the race, except that portion of the race known as hirers. By those classed as hired it has grown to the point of an entire repudiation, only lacking the final dismissal in practice.

In a question of economy to employers a trained South Sea Islander would do the work of an American laborer for victuals, a kennel to sleep in and enough money in wages or exchange for clothes and ornament, the former a breech-cloth, weather permitting, the latter abundantly supplied by beads and rings of iron and brass. If wage earners could be educated down to the primitive aspirations of the aborigine the wage question could be adjusted on the present basis of compensation—for a year, perhaps. By the end of that time or before, the wage-paying portion of the land would advise a reduction of the living expenses of the laborer, otherwise a lessening of the amount of cloth used in the model livery, and cast about for a cheaper class of beads and rings to place before him; all in the interests of labor. If labor declined to be interested and stubbornly refused, a reduction of wages would call attention to the necessity for speedy

retrenchment. It is the method now used, and we boast of the highest priced and most intelligent labor in the world. How long this boast will remain good at the rate of retrogression we now pursue can only be predicted by the aid of a sure knowledge as to how rapidly a like backward movement is being made by the rest of the world. We know it to be what we claim for it only by comparison and not that the terms express justice in our employment of them.

Fortunately for the world and civilization, the progress that has been made along other lines and which is beginning to be felt in social relations, predicts a fairer adjustment of the cause and condition of the world's toilers. The cause is too much ignored, the condition now too unfair. In its broadest sense, the children of men must some day enter into the inheritance which is their due,—a broader, freer, higher state of life. We are moving away in thought from the bondage of South Sea Islanderism, and actuality in deed will follow the thought movement. Progress is not at a standstill in the higher life forms of civilization, although the energy embodied may be only that which engendered the cause of movement. The result will appear more fully later. Time is required, but the change is sure, whether near or far the direction given the movement must determine. Ultimate justice will result to all. All life and progress were in vain otherwise.

The best earth affords, or can be made to yield, should be shared by all in their deserts. Since there is sunshine it was never meant man should live in the shadow. Since there is solid earth and a carpet of grass over it, it was never meant he should live in the filth and poison of the slough. An equal share in the opportunities this life provides for expansion and development according to ability and application is the natural right and recom-

pense of all. A considerable wage fund to draw from, but then, nature is not so scant of supplies that she entails sufferings for physical necessities on any, neither is she so devoid of kindness that her treasures are to be denied a single creature. There is fullness waiting for all. It is our perversion of natural laws that calls forth hardships in the family of man.

Wages in all industrial systems depend upon distribution primarily. If the distribution of wealth is justly governed, trade, and in turn production, is stimulated and the rapid exchange of commodities beneficially affects all departments of industry and wages go up. Both forms of wages, as money and as wealth in the hands of his fashioners, appreciate, the former in amount, the latter in exchange or selling values. When distribution is unfairly made wages decline, for the wage-working world being discriminated against have less with which to command products, less in money wages, less in value-of-products wages, and the wage workers constituting the great mass of people, their suffering not only means the suffering of many but spreads to the most extended limits of the industrial world. The decline in value-of-products wages bears more heavily on the indirect wage workers than does the fall in money wages cripple direct wage workers. Of course there are classes of workers whose money wages cannot be reduced and the workers live and labor; but consumers are many times and in many fields so limited in power of demand that those who work for indirect wages are stranded by decrease in values occasioned by the decline of prices. These declines in prices are brought about by decrease of demand and by competition in the line of wage rates. This uncertainty of results in the fields where wages are the products of application and where

rewards are meager and opportunities limited owing to combinations of causes, produces crowdings toward the money-wage paying industries by the unfortunates pushed aside and out of the ranks of workers in these branches. The action and reaction of low money wages and low value wages operate to drag down constantly the wage rate universal.

One dollar a day, when the question of direct wages narrows down to one of financial equations, is better pay under some commercial conditions than would be two dollars under other conditions, just as one-dollar values are better for indirect wage workers in some states of the markets of the world than would be two-dollar values in other states. We have heard this idea expressed many times, and because it is so manifestly and emphatically true good will come of repeating it. In the light of the labor extremist or capital extremist, it is the recompense of the workers by decreasing that increases the profits of the hirers, or the increase of the recompense that decreases the profits of the hirers. Increase and decrease of wages and profits we are coming to believe are merely relative, but the terms are used to express the relation, the distribution of wealth and the creation of values. Experience and theory go to show that a more equitable distribution increases the general and individual prosperity of all engaged in production, but the adoption of profit-sharing schemes is so rare that their beneficial effects cannot at present enter into the situation as a whole. They have proven profitable as an illustration as to what can be done. They point the way as to what may be. In the consideration of our industrial scheme and its characteristic results they have no part.

If wage earners can command more of the necessities and comforts of life on a wage scale of one dollar a day than they can on a scale of two dollars, only the long-

eared, mock philosophers who make the most noise with the least music and who argue the most with least reason, will contend that the latter state is the better. The price of products is one-half the wage question in the point of effectiveness. Competition in the wage market is the other half in the point of proportional sharing in wealth creations. Both of these rest upon distribution, and in connection with them may be considered many features, some of which man cannot control, as climatic and racial peculiarities, others of which he in his socialized efforts is directly responsible for as impediments or encouragements by law, money supply, etc.

A nation is not better than its greatest class. The greatest class, in economic importance, reflects the justice or injustice of economic conditions. The standard of wages in our country is below the line of respectable living rates in many industries and is approaching that in many others. The effort then is, the elevation of the standard, not its lowering, not fixing it at what it now is.

The community is responsible for its own treasure. The nation is responsible for its own condition. There are enemies to justice and common rights in all societies. It rests with the particular society in which particular efforts are made to preserve individual and social rights as to whether those efforts succeed. Liberty, in its proper sense, is the blessing of those who acquire and maintain it.

The modifying and lessening effects of intemperance and other dissipations, bearing on the efficiency of wages after they have passed into the hands of the worker, the destruction of wage-earning ability by indulgences of these kinds, is of no real import in the consideration. While such practices are deplorable in effect on the quali-

fications of laborers they are the results of privations rather than the causes. The limitations to fullest developments entailing physical stuntings and moral diseases are produced by the economic misdirections from which the world has suffered always. The well-paid worker, secure in his place, has neither time nor inclination to the brutish indulgences. The underpaid worker, whose physical being is deprived of proper nutriment, craves the satisfaction of natural tastes grown perverted by abuse, and he resorts to drink and even worse. While these unhappy abandonments add misery to misery and in all forms aggregate yearly an enormous sum in money squandered and energy misdirected, it must be remembered of this great total, frequently said to represent so much of the misery of wage workers as a class, that the wage aggregate is represented in proportion only. Few even estimate this proportion. Our annual consumption of intoxicants and other harmful luxuries is bunched into the appalling total and labor is invited to swear off and join our plutocracy.

If those who attribute to such causes the destitution of workers, wish to be temperately honest in dealing with the drink feature of the case, they would remember and make mention of the great percentage of this annual waste which the people who store costly drinks in their cellars should be credited with, and the amount expended by fashionable clubs. The same distinction would accompany the reckonings of tobacco totals. In the indulgence of all vices, the by far most expensive form and proportion is represented by the rich and well-to-do. This is left untouched by the claims of temperance and economic advocates who seek to fasten on labor's profligacy and improvidence the sole cause of misery in the class. The numberless ways in which labor's stipend is being continually decreased, the count-

less methods by which, when received, it is made to contribute to the vested and monopolizing powers of classes is laboriously and sedulously ignored.

In a general estimate human nature varies but little, and vice in one does not cease to be vice when indulged by another. By what right other than of financial ability to so indulge the rich are exempt from criticism for practices lamented and lamentable in labor is not shown. That this class by that amount squanders money that could be devoted to good works, to the increase of the wage fund, is not noted. On the part of those who seek to fasten on labor's mode of living the cause of wretchedness, nothing is said, no word written of the millions spent annually by the rich in foolish and harmful dissipations. Could the case by any process of reasoning be reversed for consideration, could the advocate of existing relations by any process of investigation be made to see the injustices abounding in these relations, he might say much of the wisdom-lacking policy that scatters these great sums in the dissipations that engross the time and energies of our aristocracies of wealth. Labor put to the treadmill that production may be squandered by those who control it is frequently pronounced philanthropic. A half-million-dollar ball in the bitterest season of want, and other like extravagances, a contribution to a queen's jubilee representation entailing expenditures large enough to maintain the gold reserve, and follies of like nature whose numbers grow daily, pass as devices to put money in circulation in times we are said to be on the verge of bankruptcy. It is defended and even praised as such by a portion of the press, which is natural, for plutocracy does not lack prints. It is defended and even praised by the pulpit in places, which is surprising, for we do not look for a defense of money rule from supposed exponents of the Christian gospel. It is defended

and even praised by labor, in part, which is hopeless, for who shall save labor if labor be passive, apathetic, grasping at crumbs when bread might be had,—what salt has been found to preserve the body, the soul being lacking?

Money could also be put in circulation through medium of open shops with operatives compensated in a fair degree, for the wealth forms they fashion, and so wages would expand. Money could be put in circulation in the carrying forward of all branches of industry with a full force of well-paid workmen. Money could be put in circulation by the prosecution of public works giving employment to thousands of idle men, to the double benefit of society. Other devices fitted to the same purpose could be projected and carried out whereby money that is locked up in bank or treasury vaults, and without which, on a money basis of exchange, we are miserable, could be circulated. The limited dissipations of wage workers also put money in circulation, yet their efforts in that line do not receive the laudations accorded revelers in Anglomaniatism and other popular amusements of our wealth aristocracy.

Efforts at reform in the condition of workers through the stimulation of private economy and encouragement of moral habits are praiseworthy. The growth of good practices has fitted labor to more successfully cope with adverse circumstances and to incline relations to an advancing standard of justice. But the work of moral growth must be universal to call forth fullest benefits, and there is much more than merely this embraced in the bonds of employer and employé that demands reform,—more than can be accomplished through the improvement of habits in employés.

Some of the barriers in the path of reform, hitherto, and still too much so, have been found in our reverence

for existing forms, our fear of appearing radical. We have shunned radical measures to meet radical conditions, and we love existing forms more than we love ourselves. Back of these things is found party loyalty, a good thing in its purity, a false and dangerous thing in abuse. Political parties make the history of a country, but if their power ceased when their virtue ceased history would be written quite otherwise in many instances. Partisan organizations take positions on questions strongly affecting the material prosperity of the people, the parties usually being controlled by politicians who are in turn dominated by the powers that oppose the people. In this way our system of representative government has been made the instrument of injury to the people who trust in it. Leaders know that, in the main, voters will stand by the action of conventions, by platforms, by broken faith often, and the trap is helped to preparation by those for whom it is designed. For these reasons political parties indulge corruptions, and our circumstances as a body become more straitened yearly. Political independence of the individual is the basis of all freedom in the spheres where individuals unite to form a society. Many motives and forces may have contributed to the securing of political freedom, but the exercise of that freedom in the choice of policies in state and all departments of social life will alone secure rights.

When we reach a state of personal political independence in which the voters demand such laws of elected representatives as are desired with the penalty for broken faith to be party disruption, the tricks in politics that betray the people will cease. Anomalies and absurdities, now plentiful, will cease. We are wedded to false ideals as to the relations of the two classes of society, and by our following of false ideals we reach false positions.

One anomaly, absurdity, and thereby false ideal in industrial relations is represented in the claim that a tax regulation increasing the living expenses of every one coming under its provisions will increase wages, will benefit all. A part of our people believe that to double these expenses is the surest way to prosperity. Another part believe, if there be truth in party platforms, that the labor question would receive a quieting influence if the taxes on the daily expenses of labor were reduced in part. The first believe that, as a burden is a good thing, a double burden is a doubly good thing. The second accept the doctrine that a small burden is lighter than a heavy one and a small injustice more bearable than a great one. The one believing a burden to be necessary, arguing that an added burden is a blessing; the other convinced that as a heavy load is unfair a light load is beneficial. Of course it is all done for the laboring man, with his necessities in clothing, machinery and all man-created forces to his work doubled or increased in price thereby. He is to be prospered by the operation of such laws; the one who receives money wages by the increased ability of employers to pay high wages, the one who receives value of products wages by the increased power of purchase on the part of those who work for employers whose ability to pay high wages has been increased by the working of the tax scheme! Sweet promise of enduring faith to be written in the sand; highest sounding note of joy to be struck from strings of wood. Never trick, fraud nor red-handed wrong in the world of politics in this glorious union of ours but is tagged with the triple-plated passport to public favor of "good to the laboring man." He is the subject for experiments, the basis of taxation, the power to be catered to before election. He is indispensable on election day and necessary

to the production of the proudest issue of our institutions—the hundred times millionaire.

Another part remedy in theory, part irritant in practice, is found in the changing treatment of the currency disorders. Other hoped-for aids in the establishment of right in our industrial scheme have been sought in arbitrary regulations of hired to hirer. Regulations in hours, age and other matters upon which it should be unnecessary to legislate, have been recognized as essential to the protection of labor and the good of society. All superficial features have been considered. Tariffs that add to the cost of labor's living, trusts in the control of distribution and production resultant from tariffs and monopolizations, unsettled currency policy and restrictions of the money volume and many other of the total relations of employer and employé are in any one part inimical to the prosperity of universal industry and active elements to discord. Taken together, we have the cause, in part, of our present state of chronic disorder and lack of industrial stability. These create perplexities more than enough in themselves, but they can never be more than a part of the difficulty, however much they of themselves tend to business fluctuations. They are evils growing out of a primary wrong to all classes of society.

We might abolish tariffs; we might abolish monopolies, trusts, at the penalty of something stronger than we now devise—so strong that they would stay abolished. There is a crime against the country the punishment for which is severe enough to discourage its indulgence, and under it might with a great deal of reason come those cases where the interests of the people are so seriously affected. We might settle our financial folly by application of the wisest regulations to be made and dispose of all other superficial causes of distress, and

yet under all these wise orders oppression would continue and inequalities in conditions and results still number as victims the greater part of our people. The causes complained against are themselves results. To suppress a result in one place is to cause it to appear in another while the source of the result exists. When a number of ills afflict a people, no one remedy will avail for all and cure so long as an essential is lacking.

While the specialists who have a solitary result in view for the abolition of the multitudes of evils from which we suffer prescribe for their lessening or destruction free or taxed necessities, white, yellow, or a union of money metals, and what not, they work in a single sphere. While they ask for one of these, or all in various combinations with the remedies of other specialists, they ignore one fundamental fact, and this the fact that so long as opportunities are unequally distributed equality in condition, or the elements to such equality, will not result. Justice is never the outgrowth of continued wrong, equality is not the offspring of inequality. To attempt the destruction of results without annihilating their source is supremest futility. To make the effort is to recognize the superficial and artificial conditions in our industrial relations and society without the courage to strike where the blow is needed. To see the glaring wrongs existent is unavoidable; to trace them back to the nearest manifestation of cause and seek to check them there is vain. To look for relief to follow such measures as a permanent following while the great natural conditions and the necessity for justice and equality of first relations between those who employ labor and those who supply it, between man and man, between society and man, between man and society are ignored or unseen, is maddest folly. Folly from which we have

suffered and do suffer. Folly that has caused the world of mankind the major part of all the unhappiness that links the world to bedlam. We have attempted to build on the fundamentals of error and have hoped to build to felicity. We have accepted the limitations in the primary essentials the world has always labored under and have then looked for completeness. We have closed our eyes and shut up our understanding against the truths of nature. But unseen and ignored items of nature's provisions and demands do not compose or absent themselves to oblige our ignorance or defer to our temerity. Right does not result from wrong so we suffer from the results of mistakes we have committed and continue to make, as the world has suffered before this day and must continue to do while following the path of the past.

We must cease to unsee and ignore the causes of our unhappiness. The choice is change or ruin. If we reject straw, our taskmistress, nature, will compel us to make brick without it. Nature does not condone our neglect of her just laws; she will not, cannot, save us from the just punishment of the consequences of our own folly and we cannot save ourselves except by change. From the beginning man has run counter to nature's laws and not nature but man has been wrecked by it. Natural laws neglected have a way of asserting themselves not always pleasant, and because we are in part ignorant of the origin of our troubles we feel we are roughly dealt with if in our efforts at social results two and two fail to make five, or if following the orders of the past we fail to arrive at the success the past failed to demonstrate.

A people can live without trade. Witness the savage beast-men whose personal efforts at root digging or fish taking suffice to supply their every want, the effort of the individual representing his sole support. Exchange here is of labor for the articles of nature's pro-

vision which are found necessary; nature and labor complete the terms. A people can live if to one man is granted the sole privilege of manufacturing toothpicks and to another is given the monopoly of pounding all the sand of the seashore into all the rat holes of earth. They can live without gold or silver, free coinage, limited coinage, wildcat currency or bullion. They can and will live with or without these, with or without tariffs, trusts, unsettled or one-sided currency. Just how happy or unhappy they would be can be ascertained by experiment. By experiment we have found that tariffs, trusts and halved currency make not for the happiness and prosperity of our people. We have run the list through in a multitude of combinations in the past forty years, beginning by doubling the living expenses of the people and have now reached a point where we allow them only half as much money to meet their obligations assumed under and unavoidable to that false standard. We have thrown in various etceteras in the way of privileged preyings, and still we are not happy. We are seeking relief yet, and that along the very lines of action we have pursued that brought us to where we are. Our pauper list is swelling and the forces in our national life that are swelling at the same rate of increase are the perplexities of labor and the treasure chambers of our plutocracy. What a devil's trinity that is—pauperism, labor perplexities and plutocracy! One to which neither pagan nor infidel can bow, and yet we sit serene, or at the strongest only mildly protestant, under its domination. We have tried everything but common sense, have conformed to every design but that of nature and have arrived at this.

To one who had followed but that phase of the situation the natural wonder would be why we should be called upon to pass special enactments looking to the preservation of workers' rights. Why find it necessary

to provide laws regulating wages, laws restricting the encroachments of enemies on the rights of labor, would be irrepressible queries suggested by a following of that one feature. And yet another harder to answer, Why should there be enemies to labor and what industrial situation makes war between its classes? There were no need of such precautions, such regulations, had not the workers been deprived of primitive dues; these withheld, there is nothing that can compensate. The occasions for solicitude on behalf of the greater part of the race would not have arisen had not the world, workers as well as oppressors, entered into a league to deprive the former of their power, which taken, leaves them at the mercy of the latter. There would be no enemies in the industrial world if the forces had not been divided on lines that make the partial success of one class the partial or complete failure of the other class. Nature did not create a state in which the largest number of human-kind are inferior, unable to care for themselves. That they do not find themselves the controlling power in their socialized life is due to impositions that have grown from permitted impositions, so that the strong have become weak, the weak strong. Hence, laws limiting the hours of a work day. Hence, laws looking to the regulation of wages. Hence, laws vainly endeavoring to keep the field open to men where only children's wages are paid. Hence, in short, protection, in its various forms, to the worker. Incompetents, shirkers, without intelligence to insure self-preservation, whose habits, lives, must be regulated that they suffer not and that the world thrive because of their regulated control and protection. This is the estimate to be made of the principal body of American workers by one unfamiliar with conditions and hearing only of the measures for pro-

tection and defense against the rest of the industrial commonwealth.

The natural factors entering into the problem, the intricacies of which are largely of man's contribution, are as yet to be considered and allowed their proper development. There are a great many of these crowded out to make way for man's theories, experiments and greeds. One natural and necessary factor to human life and progress, and which embraces all forms of development in either, is land. It is the only one so far that has been subject to conditions of monopolization, doubtless because it is the only one that can be. If science makes possible the private ownership and control of other elements to physical existence, in the future other weights may be added to those already encumbering all those on the outside of the monopoly ring. But sufficient unto the present day are the evils now to be contended with.

Land is necessary to life in all the higher forms of physical manifestation. Man cannot exist beyond the briefest time without it and its products. His habitat is land; his food is the product of land and the product of land's product; his clothing is the product of land directly or indirectly. For these reasons if he is shut away from land and its products he must cease to live.

Free access to land is necessary to prosperity. In proportion to actual needs one man will require as much land for use as another; he will require as much food, clothing, and as large a house. In a primitive organization of society one will require as much land to range over for game, as much to cultivate vegetables in, as much for every use, as another. In the more socialized community the products of the diverse industrial machine will be demanded by all men in about equal quantities if power of command be equal. In the indus-

trial community one man's demand for land will vary with the demand for land by another as the nature of his calling may require more or less. The amount of land demanded by his necessities on the part of a merchant will be less than that demanded by a farmer. The two businesses by their natures require about the same in any normal enterprise in either distinct line. But the main fact is that each must have land for the prosecution of his business, the farmer acres and the merchant square feet. They will each, probably, consume for their personal needs, the products of like areas, but in carrying on their separate enterprises they must have more or less than this amount of land. By nature being entitled to so much each, by business they have unequally divided the proportion of the two, each taking what he needs. The land is theirs by right of necessity, the division is made to conform to the separate needs of the two.

Private control of land embraces all the elements of oppression to be found in any state of industrial servitude. Land being a necessity to life, control of land is control of life. Free access to land being necessary to prosperity, control of land is control of the industrial life of those who inhabit land. That land is necessary to life is no more incontrovertible as a statement than that free access to land is necessary to prosperity and that land control includes the power of control over labor. The first may be at first thought somewhat more self-evident than the other two, but once its truth being established in the mind the others will follow as essential corollaries, as unavoidable conditions entailed by the first. If land be necessary to life, control of land embraces control of life. When control of life is given, control of the acts making up life is given also, and there is no prosperity, no development beyond what is desired and granted by the masters of life no matter whether the

master's claim is recognized as one in flesh and blood or as one of control over an element to life.

How to go to a basis of equality and justice in the matter of land control must then concern all who admit its transcendant importance in the economic life of the people. As to wages, for all the efforts made to preserve their rate and efficiency, while there is in this country one helpless worker who will sell his labor for ten hours at sixty cents the wages of other workers also helpless of resort to self-help will crowd down to that line. The world is not a broad field in class interests, and wages the world over tend to a level. In the closer union of world interests results a closer similarity of class conditions and tendencies. By the division lines drawn by man the greater part of wage workers in the world continue by virtue of the use to which they may be put by those for whom they toil. By this division they have no recognized claim to the opportunities for bread-winning in a growing number. They win bread, by this division, in employment in those fields where appropriation and monopolization are in control, where the controllers hold the power of determining industry or idleness, bread or starvation, the power to say how much bread or the degree of starvation. The wage rate universal by the law that tends to uniform wages, is subject to this one-sided power.

CHAPTER II.

LAND AND WAGES.

Wage scales, governed by justice, must take as a basis the productive power of the worker. Starting from the point where the isolated producer is the sole possessor of his self-wrought creations and ranging down to the prevailing system wherein monopolizers of natural forces pay out to the actual producers a sum of wages sufficient only for the barest subsistence, is the wage development as the world knows it. We say, in considering these themes, that capital must have its share of the increased values it is a factor in producing. This is true, but capital is in justice entitled to a fair share only. Capital, the tool to more speedy operations, is by nature the secondary power to production. Capital is nothing without labor; cannot by its utmost power increase and benefit its master if labor does not co-operate with it; cannot by its utmost power buy a breakfast for its master if labor had not been before it and fashioned the work of nature into form of food. Capital as an industrial factor is nothing without labor for it cannot without labor either command or produce; it was nothing before labor for it is a product of labor. It is but an instrument for the convenience of man, fashioned by the cunningest tools of nature, the hands of man, directed by the master-worker, the mind of man. But we have made it of more worth in the division of rewards than man. The creature grows to dominate the creator, to dictate terms of production and recompense. In our industrial problem the terms have been transposed by this conceded power

of capital and the result is what we see. Viewed in its impotence to singly benefit its masters and considered in its secondary importance to production the value of capital in the industrial scheme shrinks to its true proportion,—a worthy, speedy tool. As a force which must constantly be renewed, the primary power to this renewal being labor, the division of the products of labor assisted by capital should not be so largely in favor of capital as now is practiced. The share of products apportioned to capital is written in the economic world as interest. The share of labor is called wages.

Enough for the support of life and the command of comforts according to the laborer's standard of living, governed by a fair proportionate sharing in the goods he creates, is no more than the worker's right. Anything less than this is not right. The laborer is worthy his hire. The fashioners of wealth forms are entitled to the use and enjoyment of the products of their skill and industry. Since without labor wealth does not increase the increase that comes by industry should in proportion of contribution be shared by those who create it.

Profit-sharing, in some form, is the only rational method of adjusting wage and interest rates. It is the only one that stands in ethics. It is the only one approved by reason. It is the only one that will recommend itself in final practicability. Necessary to any plan if right relations between the classes be the aim, a recognized profit-sharing must be incorporated into the industrial plan if that plan embraces situations compelling one class of men to look to another class for use of resources. Such a plan without the profit-sharing element cannot long prevail. They who have been deprived, they for whom conditions have rendered existence impossible independent of employing capital, are not to be made more helpless and miserable because

of the primal iniquity. If first conditions are unjust secondary ones must so far as possible make recompense for the evil results of the first. There is no compensation to be made sufficient to override the effects of wrong primary relations but gradual approaches toward right relations are less liable to excite harmful antagonisms than are sweeping measures of reform. That they are also more certain of a near adoption is a significant fact. Rewards put on a basis of industrial worth would go far toward minimizing the evils of monopolizations. A misanthropy urges to the opposite of self-reliance and directs the path of movement that leaves any man resourceless. The thought and practice of these on the part of both industrial classes must be set aside for the consideration of the necessity for a self-sufficiency and interdependence that will harmonize the antagonisms now felt. Warfare must cease between these two classes if true prosperity is to attend their effort. But warfare will not give way while its cause remains.

The co-operation of labor is as necessary to production as land and more necessary than machinery. Land of itself is fruitless in the economic sense; labor without land is impossible. Production springs from the applications of labor to land; machinery and other forms of capital are the products of these united forces and are powers to further and more rapid production. One cause of the existence of capital is like to be beaten back by the creature it has gendered. Labor has permitted capital, in the broadest sense, to become the master of both land and man. Without land man cannot exist; without labor land is non-productive and machinery void of effect. Labor controlling land and capital presents the normal, true relations of industrial forces. Labor and land at the tyranny of the secondary force is our presen-

tation of the man and the tools which takes form in an inversion best expressed as the tools and the man.

What we have called civilization is marked by the degree of excellence to which the industrial arts arise. There are other measures, but this is a prime one. If this measure be at all correct in itself the cause of civilization demands many changes in the present status of economic affairs. Labor being indispensable to production, the most effective forms of labor are necessary to the development of the highest civilization. A degraded state of labor in any country, natural and other conditions notwithstanding, is due to false perceptions of the principles governing the relations of labor to the productive forces of nature. If these principles were correctly apprehended and undeviatingly adhered to, labor would at all times and in all places be in position to command a fair distribution of products as a natural result of production and labor's contribution thereto. Then wages would no more be crowded down by capital than the masters of capital reap wealth from the necessities and helplessness of humanity. Labor would then be in the same independent position capital now enjoys without usurping aught that of a right belongs to capital; the two would share that independence and be as they should, independent of and mutually dependent upon one another. Then justice of wages would result, in whatever form wages might be determined. The sharing of wealth resulting from the application of labor to natural forces would follow as the standard of wages, proportioned to the value of contribution. Then production would excel, for workers would excel. The recognition of labor's worth would work to constantly increase the laborer's capabilities and production in amount and excellence be immeasurably stimulated.

If this practice of wage apportioning is relegated to Utopia and the spirit rejected with contempt for the weakness of the wage earner, if the scheme in some development be classed with the—not impossibilities, but unknown wage scales, it does not vitiate the principle. The justice, the apparent and eternal justice of it remains. It looks and is both Utopian and impossible in the present relations of capital and labor, because those relations are false. Right those false relations and false results will cease. Those relations established on the basis of actual necessity will strip the delegated importance from all secondary forces and give to the true forces to industrial operations the standing their worth demands.

This may be arrived at in one way or another. If monopoly-capitalists have no use for the many but as tax subjects and beasts of burden, if monopoly-capitalistic employers do not choose to pay living and respectable wages because the necessities of labor give them oppressive powers, there must be some other way devised. A state of affairs that would make it possible for labor to become self-employing and occupation independent would simplify the question greatly, perhaps very greatly to the monopoly-capitalist and monopoly-capitalistic employers who have been too much consulted in the past. As it is now, there needs but one party to a work contract, and that party the man who offers the wages—the other, the man who does the work, is a party only in the sense that he accepts the offer and does the work. This cannot last. It has almost arrived at the ceasing point now. Wages in dollars and cents, crowded down to the last penny on which labor can exist and be profitable, with all other forms of wages on the same level, is not the fixed wage standard of a Christian and civilized people. It cannot be the standard for such a people. It is too unchristian, too uncivilized. That a man who pays

one set of men one dollar and ten cents should dismiss them for a set at one dollar and five cents, that wages in monopolized industries should be steadily and systematically reduced, not because the businesses demand a reduction in wages, but only because the masters of industry have the power to reduce them and labor no alternative, is a preposterous and horrible thing. It is almost incredible that such conditions should exist in the latter end of the nineteenth century. Perhaps they do exist because we are in the latter end of the nineteenth century. This, the close, must be transitory in the conditions presented. A hundred years from this the millennium will be that much nearer and such a state be that much more impossible than now.

When we consider the progress that has been made in many ways, progress toward a right relationship in the human family, this worse than medieval state looks inexplicable. When the tide of onward movement runs so swiftly in some directions it looks incomprehensible that it should here have moved backward, eddying, shifting without forward sweep in this sargasso sea. Philanthropy works from the top to the bottom, or bottomwards, salving the surface while the core remains festering. Theologically inclined minds figure on the date of the millennium while evil stalks unchallenged over earth. Conditions will not change until causes change. But conditions must change, millennium or not. The changes of the last few years have been noticeable, but many do not bear the frank of millennial import; salving continues for the core does not send out life.

Five cents a day on ten thousand workers gives to the penny saved, penny earned, employers something like a half thousand dollars daily above usual profits, other things being equal. Alas, such civilization and such Christianity and such profits. Unhappy people, when

give as little, get as much as you can is the motto. When Mammon rules righteousness must depart. The firm, composed of Christian and civilized men, can with a few years of such earnings build a magnificent church, endow a hospital or establish a library and apologists will rise up and call them blessed. The church, the hospital and the library are needful and must come, but their source when in the bounty indicated makes them to represent the opposite of what they should stand for, not a pride but a shame, not a blessing but a curse. Those who grow rich in this wise and use ill-gotten wealth as a salve for the bruised conscience and a blind to the public do not lack apologists. There are even those who consider them great benefactors of human kind. It may be, but they also have the five hundred dollars daily earnings for their own use afterward as an earthly reward for their kindness of heart and philanthropic civilization and self-disinterested Christianity.

But what of the ten thousand? Five cents a day less for three hundred days in the year represent fifteen dollars. Fifteen dollars yearly, extra, saved earnings for the employers, or fifteen dollars a year less wages for the employé. Not much represented, not much of a cut, the apologist would say, has said in many a like case, a reduction of less than five per cent., that same five cents a day aggregating fifteen dollars in a year. And would you dare laugh in derision that labor should contend for it, wrangle for it and shed blood for it? Do you sneer at it as a paltry sum? If so, in God's name remember that fifteen dollars will buy winter shoes for a family of six. It will put more clothing on little, shivering bodies. It will furnish a little extra bread to ease the hunger of unfed or underfed mites of humanity. It will buy the school books for three or four children for one year's work. It will provide for an annual one day's outing by

the family, exerting an influence which your church, hospital or library cannot bring to the vice-steeped man or woman, hopeless of reform through years of besotment. Such is a curtailed list of the possibilities of that little sum. If the thought is a novel one to you and you cannot remember it in His name, learn some day in the Devil's and as his champion, that prisons restrain but seldom reform, and that criminal expenses represent more in the life of a nation than courts and jails. Learn too that hundreds, thousands of children go clothed in tatters, hunger-pinched, and little, blue toes appeal to heaven in testimony that the fifteen dollars went to lengthen the cloud-piercing spire and not to buy them covering and comfort.

A nation is better happy than great—great as the world in its estimate so often determines greatness, which greatness is only that false appearance of strength and prosperity that grows out of abuses and intolerations. If the people be not happy and good they cannot be great. Happiness and goodness depend, for free exercise, on the environment of the individual; they do not spring from deprivations and squalor. The soul virtues of a people are mirrored in their daily lives and surroundings and in turn grow from the reflections there cast. Greatness is not a matter of comparison, but must exist in the consciousness of the people and in their lives. This is true of individuals and must therefore be true of any body of people. No people can be happy while injustice guides the course of daily events, but to be happy must first be great in the knowledge of right relations in all the numerous associations of life, and a condition expressed by another word we often use—equality. Equality, which means in humbler phrase, equal chance. More than this none may claim for it, less than this, the

boast of equality is but a self-condemned lie. In this sense it is a primal condition to greatness.

No nation can be great while there is of its numbers one miserably conditioned being who has the ambition and ability to better his state in any realm of activity. The necessities of the state rightly guided do not crush a member of the state. No nation can be happy while one human creature coming under its provisions is by injustice kept from enjoying the material comforts he is capable of producing by his own efforts, and that, too, by the aid of all existing helps to such production. It is his right, his equality privilege shared by all, to do while there is need of doing, while others will be the better for his work and will make it profitable for him to work, while he has need of action to meet the requirements of his own life. The highest possible development of the unit makes the happy and great commonwealth.

The matter is simple enough, but for our bigotry which would create difficulties that we may display our brilliancy in disposing of them. We have accumulated the difficulties, but the enacted efforts to dispose of them have failed to come up to promise. So we give classes the elements to wealth and place opportunities at their disposal, making them masters of production and labor, and then we set about seeking a method whereby they may be dispossessed of some of their advantages while retaining all, to curtail their power while the authority to command is unquestioned, to compel them to relinquish a share of the profits while they still control the sources of wealth. In short, we try to regulate wages, and again, in short, we importune the thief we have helped to despoil us to come back and employ labor.

There are many points in the wage question aside from the one of mere dollars and cents on the present basis of apportioning rewards. While we permit the wage hirer

to control all forces to production there are many complex possibilities of wrong when seen from different standpoints and its control is hedged about by many questions as to whether proposed changes would not increase rather than diminish the vexations. These questions become self-answered certainties while patches and drugs, only, are proposed. We have more than enough of these shams already. We must bestir ourselves for something genuine to take their places. American institutions are doctored into a state of chronic invalidism and patches are sewn on the original fabric of constitutional rights with a zeal and persistence that threaten its complete obscuration. The day of drugs and patches like that of all shams must draw to a close.

One matter in the relation of capital and labor to be met and dealt with is fear, another is distrust. The shams we have incorporated into the industrial scheme are causes of these unnatural attitudes. Labor and capital fear and distrust each other in any proposed change conveying an ever so faint suggestion of advantage on the part of the other above the grounds now held, and either seeks to guard against such a change. It is the eternal and omnipresent I we struggle for in every class, forgetful of the fact that the equally lasting and ever present You must likewise be cherished and provided for, that I without You is impossible in the industrial life. Fear and distrust abound as a result of false relations. In a state of recognized equality the Mine of labor and the Mine of capital would acknowledge the Thine of what now appears to be the enemy of either. Fears, distrusts and largely greed, will die out of the thoughts of labor and capital and will no longer play a part in their intercourse if an equitable basis of co-operation is established and perpetuated. Then would be demonstrated the fact that as one is necessary to the other so also is

the permanent good of one indispensable to the permanent good of the other. As it is, to labor capital appears tyrannous and oppressive, and this is true at times and places for the reasons that capital has power to be so and at times is forced to use the power or suffer overthrow and ruin. At other times the power is applied from other than self-preserving motives. To capital labor looks to be in a state of suspicion akin to revolt, seeking every possible advantage however small, however great. This is quite generally the right view, but only because the past has taught that labor is always on the defensive from necessity, and even as such many of the rights of labor are infringed and in instances are clearly altogether abrogated.

Only by a common interest and a mutual dependence and guarding of each other's rights can laborers and employers of labor receive the fullest returns to industry in any enterprise. As the well-fed horse that receives gentle treatment and the carefully preserved machine are superior in effort to the effort made by the economy that belabors a starveling or consumes time with broken and rusty machinery, so is independent labor better than dependent labor, so is well-fed, well-housed, well-educated labor better than ignorant, half-clad, less than half-fed labor that is driven by the scorpion lash of necessity to uncongenial fields of labor, to the successful continuance of which such labor is a menace. The volume and quality of production are lessened by industrial conditions that develop such a state of labor.

That labor mentally and physically depraved is harmful and dangerous to the industrial development of any country in which it is found is so commonly known that it is traded upon to the degradation of the order in our land. It is made much of in our political campaigns, in our boastings of a superior order of workers. Many

things are asked for in the interests of intelligent labor by employers who do not hesitate to make up their pay-rolls from the most depraved classes the world field affords, bringing these into competition with American workers whose intelligence and superiority the hirers profess to value. Intelligence and virtue cannot compete with their opposites when the test is in dollars and cents; they cannot survive competition from this class. Neither can employers maintain a high order of industrial excellence if they force the wage scale to the level of the depraved class. Employers will ultimately receive the service for which they pay. The dollars they save now will not reimburse them for the decreased productiveness of labor worked by such a leaven; no more will they buy back the blessings their mercenary greed now rejects. The inferior labor they introduce and to which standard they are forcing our own laborers will appear more disadvantageous in the future when the policy they are pursuing has had time to develop its completest inadequacy. If the evils of such practice are now glaringly apparent only by comparison, it is because the drifting away process has not been long enough established for the losses entailed by an inferior class of workers to become of undeniable proportions. If hirers of labor would build for the future they must maintain a wage rate as high as consistent with a reasonable profit on investments. Even their present best interests demand justice to their workers for the future is a continuation of the present and every day increases the decline they are inaugurating.

This is a consideration hirers of labor might do well to take into account. Since money getting is the end to which creation was spoken forth, the goal of this intermediary space we call life or time, and the only sure passport into the freer condition of the beyond life which

has been named eternity and toward which we are rushing, they ought, even at the risk of doing a righteous thing, to consider this and see if it be not true and to their this world interests if not solely, in part at least, to weigh the matter fairly and act for humanity. The godly obligations of self-aggrandizement might suffer some pangs at first as a result of the fact that few really good things can be entirely appropriated to self, but the necessity of ultimate gains should have no removable obstacle to contend with. It is nature's law to promote results only as means are promoted and man cannot run counter to her mandates without paying in full the penalty for his rashness. Alas, no!

The wage difficulty will never approach equitable adjustment in a state of industrial economics where one man receives or controls an enormous income for, and while doing nothing that is of value to the race, while other men work all day long, year after year for enough to barely keep life in the body. It will not be adjusted on a basis that permits the appropriation of wealth sources by individuals while many starve because they lack bread who would gladly exchange labor for bread or would go to work and create bread, but that the elements to such exchange and such creation are denied them through this appropriation. The two classes divided thus could not be found in a commonwealth where opportunities were not subject to monopolization.

Above the positive influence for evil that princely incomes on one hand and beggarly destitution on the other will call forth, is the power of the wealthy to control the fortunes and lives of others that this unfair distribution will always bring about. The princely income of itself may do no harm so long as it is arrived at by honest means, without trampling on the rights of others. But

few are arrived at in that way, so few that they can most safely be set down as the character in units column in expressing ten by figures. The way may be provided for by laws, but legalized wrongs are the ones we have most suffered from. No method of riches getting can be honest that injures a member of the society from which the riches are drawn. The nearest to right any of the methods by which such fortunes are usually amassed can be said to have lain in getting the consent of the people, fairly given or otherwise, to plunder them, and then to plunder. In monarchical forms this is a kingly prerogative; in representative governments the people consent to it through a false education as to the legitimate functions of government, through misrepresentations of the needs of governments in revenues and the like, or in some emergency consent to a special tax which is hard to throw off afterward and is diverted to selfish personal ends by those who can so pervert its original intentions. However much the people may be to blame for their own despoilment they do not and will not submit with the patience the class has shown in the ages of the past. The unwise display of riches in this country, the lavishness of millionairessdom, does not operate to soothe the fret of misery before whose eyes the flaunt of unparalleled extravagance is made. The eyes of democracy are weak to the glitter of scarlet and gold of enthroned oppression, the ears dull to the cheers of long live privileged greed. The feeling of Demos at such demonstrations is one of questioning from whence rises and by what power evoked appears the specter supposed to have been banished from these shores sometime in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

A great many of the wrongs to labor, wrongs to society, are those the world has been accustomed to through the practices of many centuries. Even decades

of abuse will rivet with almost indissoluble union the evils a careless people may be made to suffer from. In these ways the greater part of a people come to look at certain forms of inequality as the legally vested rights supported by the moral force of those more fortunate by purely accidental circumstances. While resenting the outcome of such diverse relations, many do not even question the legitimacy of the arrangement. In our own country this acceptance of wrongs established gives rise to peculiar situations. While the people are madly jealous of what they conceive to be their rights and privileges, they give quiescent consent and support to the self-established and perpetuated injustices that undermine the foundations on which they build in the hope of security. That the causes of the evils are unrecognized and unsuspected by many is not a saving element, but rather one of greater danger. Because we are supposed to not foster inequalities let us not deny their presence while so palpable; having seen them the next step is how to abolish them. Power over human life by what means soever is an unsafe one at all times and under all circumstances unless obligations of government and accountability are imposed. Here, by the private ownership and control of life elements we have the peculiar anomaly of power without responsibility and authority freed from the reckonings of final results.

The power of hirers of labor to let labor alone, to leave labor unhired and thus make self-support impossible by those who have no hope but that of wage earning, is an error more apparent than its correction, to many. The only rational grounds for hope of betterment lies in an effort at equalization of opportunities so that fewer will be bound by the will and pleasure of capital. Short contracts, the uncertainty of permanent work, carry evils potential and actual. Instability, with the

fears natural to such terms, follows. The hirers contract with workers for a few months of the year. The terms are too often what have been tritely designated as starvation wages. Labor has no alternative but to accept what is offered and generally feels fortunately dealt with that so much is fairly certain in a day and times when competition is crowding wages and work to the very limits of possibilities. At the end of the time contracted for, perhaps before, the laborer is cast aside to make the best possible shift for himself. The employer's money interests are best served by closing up his business until a reduction of the general stock of goods advances prices, or until more favorable legislation is forthcoming to enable him to increase profits. Or perhaps, as is growing to be a favorite weapon, he closes shops until after an impending election for the scare-crow effect such a proceeding will have on a credulous and easily-alarmed public.

Because these things are growing to be the common situation we are coming to "protect" labor. But the only apparent lesson in protection and rights for all the talk indulged on these themes is the protection that protects special interests against the interests of the majority, and the rights of the minority not only to pick the pockets of the rest, but to tie the hands of the robbed while doing so. Examples without number may be cited. As a sample case take that of the American manufacturer of tin plate, being a business which neither exaggerates the evils of favoritism nor one of minor importance. Let legislation for the purpose of repealing laws granting pickpocket privileges to this industry, be agitated, and while the purse-lifting clause can apply to only a few and the looted condition fall to all the rest, yet throughout the length and breadth of the land will be found frantically aroused men who will not only insist that they

themselves must and ought to be robbed by and in the interests of the tin-plate people, but want the whole nation to come under the same provision. At the same time let a proposition come up for the granting of millions of acres of the people's land to individuals or corporations for private use and profit and we hear but little of the rights or of protection to the people. Such grants deprive thousands of actual homes, keep thousands dependent on the pleasure of capital for support from wages, and place thousands in the grasp of the rent extorter. We are told that both these sample laws will result in the development of the country, furnish work, and are, not to complete the list of special blessings they are to entail, necessary to the welfare of our industries. That is to say, that one class of people are for the development of industries to be given every possible advantage in the way of prices and that to develop these industries they must have the people's land upon which to develop them. And against these conditions, we try, and sometimes even succeed in passing laws that fix the hours of a day's work, or that limit the age at which people may begin work. This, in the one case is called encouragement to industries, and in the other protection to labor!

Unfortunately, the time occasionally arrives when employers in obedience to the laws of self-defense must shut down work. The complications produced by the dependence of labor upon capital under existing conditions are the weakness of the system. From over-stimulation too much has been produced, from under-consumption too little has been used in one branch of production. Over-stimulation is a seeming prospect of great prosperity which fails to realize, under-consumption follows the inability of the people to command goods. The two causes of business disorders are particularly

active in any system that places the advantages all on one side, a glut of one production or a falling off in demand for it produces a fear of ruin, and capital in that branch of industry finds it necessary or advisable to close work. This throws the industrial machinery out of harmony. Every reduction of pay, every lockout, decreases the demand for productions in other lines, and soon another producer feels the slackening, and to save himself, closes; and so it continues along this chain of action until business is brought to a standstill. If there has been a pool or combination formed in the industries affected, the action has been all the more rapid, and thousands are laid off at once in different localities, the fever spreading with increased speed. The next industry to feel the lessening demand lays off its thousands, the rapidity of action being accelerated with each accession to the ranks of unwilling idlers until the whole industrial organism is stagnating in inaction. With the first impulse of decrease, away goes the panic-breeding order for reduction of wages, shut-down, lock-out, strike. Capital owns the land, without which there is no production, and work being denied, labor is left without means of support. Capital and monopolization neither furnish wages nor permit workers to labor independently for support, and by power of existing relations, labor can do neither without permission of those who control resources.

No matter what the cause, the seasons of closed workshops are far too frequent and prolonged for the happiness and well being of those who must depend upon their earnings there for support and the support of those dependent upon them by nature. The workers are left to meet the necessities of the situation in the best way at command. Their late employer feeds and houses his four-footed employés during the season of inactivity; he covers from wind and weather the machinery of his

great halls. But the animals with the reasoning mind, the divinely fashioned mechanism, fearfully and wonderfully made, with the hopes and fears, the longings and heart throbbings with which life here is filled, hold no legal claim to his purse. They do not gratify his love of ease and splendor and display. No moneyed interest is represented by their comfort and preservation. So they hold no recognized claim on him. They are not permitted a living from the products of their fashioning, they are not permitted to produce after their master has found it profitable to lock up. They are the least considerable part of a system as we apportion rewards and control economic events. Poor human machinery that will wear out some day, poor beasts of burden for whom mere stall and hay, were they provided, were they even permitted, would not suffice to make happy and good. How much more desirable would your lots be could you like your less sensitive and more favored prototypes be content in the state wherein you find yourselves, calmly subject to the will of your masters. How much more conducive to peace, could you conduct your existences on the economical principle of the machine which requires no oiling while standing idle, not earning wealth for its masters.

If the cause be one where selfish motives cut off wages or one where, sadly enough, the general or that particular state of business will warrant from neither the profit nor self-preserving view point the hiring of labor the year round, what then? Must the would-be-worker beg or steal a living? Either profession has its impediments and penalties of man's devising when entered into with modest ambitions. The cold rebuff, the prison. He might starve? Happy and brilliant idea. How much this choice would simplify matters could the unfortunate be made to look at it so. We hear it said

if fewer were engaged in the work steadier employment and better wages would follow. What truth, what wisdom, what penetration! Malthus himself could ask for no more. Those who modestly hold back that others may get a place may beg or steal or starve.

My friends, they often do the first; you are interested, perhaps, in the reports of those who bear the burden of relief work in those centers of population where competition is keenest; you doubtless note the increased petitions at your own door and those you encounter on the street. They not infrequently do the second; a stolen article put in pawn provides temporary relief or brings food and shelter at the expense of the community for a length of time governed by the value of the article. But a light has appeared in the courts of the world and a precedent has been established; in the city of Jean Valjean a young mother convicted of the charge of bread stealing was discharged without punishment because she took it to save the life of her starving child. Brothers, what a precedent. If the taking of food to prevent starvation has ceased to be a moral crime in the decision of one judge, as it has ceased to be a crime in the thought of the world, there is the germination of a new order taking place. This new phase of property rights will be found instructive of many things among which property privileges as we have looked upon them may be found necessary of a revision. As to the last resort, starvation, they many times are driven there,—died from lack of proper nourishment, the papers eloquently record. These are the logical results of failure of self-support and brought about, as the records of crime almost invariably show, by necessity and not choice. Not, in a matter of competition, because they of the host unfortunate stepped back that others might have work and

wages, but despite their utmost efforts to work, too, in a world where nothing is needed so much as work.

There is another matter for the apologist to consider, and which might ease him of his burden of apologies if it be possible of easement. If naked, starving, toolless would-be workers could command the articles of food and clothing necessary to their comfort, and means to the prosecution of their work in other fields, a change would appear. Could the other fields by any sort of magic or common sense be opened to them (and alas! how like magic common sense sometimes seems), the rest would arrange itself. Then the armies of workers in our already established industries might have work year in, year out, at good pay that both the desires and demands of consumers be met. But these fields are closed as by magic that has no likeness to common sense, nor even uncommon sense. It is by the evil magic of mistake.

If the unused land in our country should be thrown open to use by edict of government or through the philanthropy of those who control it the wage ferment would do much to compose itself by a spreading out of labor forces through new and expanding channels of industry that would be provided and opened. Opportunities being open there would be two parties to a work contract, the one who offers wages and work and the one who accepts. If capital could not give good wages the worker would be able to employ himself by the use of this land. His wages would then be sure and measured by the productiveness of his effort.

Labor commissions, trades-unions, party platform declarations of sympathy and like tried ways, have been educative up to the main point, but as finalities their day has been too long. Futilities must at some place

give way to practicabilities and each day makes the demand more imperative. The present arrangement of industrial forces by which labor is unable to live independently of wage-paying capital presses with constantly increasing weight against the wage scale. Opportunities for the spreading out of the wage-receiving mass is the only hope of relief while we continue in a competitive idea. The adjustment that would follow such a change in the situation of labor would be a natural and healthy one. Efforts at compulsion and regulation in relations and rewards to labor and capital after the basis of their union is established are unnatural and unhealthy, and will always prove abortive of the good they struggle to bring about. Established on a just basis, these efforts would not be needed for the greatest good would naturally go to each and rewards be to each in the measure of productiveness.

The ability of capital to bring forth after its kind is sure. In any industrial organization that insures reward governed by merit, capital would take its rightful place both in production and returns for production. Labor, in existing relations to capital, does not to any degree approaching equality share in the distribution of products, is crowded down more and more by the forces that render it impossible for labor to command a fair proportion of production. Labor can and will take care of labor, independent of all ludicrous and hypocritical attempts at protection, with serene contempt for all mawkish protestations of sympathy and respect if left free to do so, if embargoes are removed, if given a chance. The main trouble lies in our perversion of natural rights and our trying after that to evolve a right conclusion from a wrong beginning,—something which has not been done by any people and something not likely to be accomplished in our case.

Instead of nature's way, men insist on patching and doctoring the natural until they hold up their hands in amazement at the unholy spectacle their work presents. We drift farther in falsehood in our self-complacent attempts to do something to right the evils that follow. What that something is, let it speak for itself, as too often in our doing of something in the law line and general legislating for labor and in the clamor for such, the something done is not stimulating to our pride when its worked-out solution reveals it as it really is. Not what we hoped for and not what our gifted and eloquent representatives in the halls of legislation assured us and proclaimed it to be when they were working at the double task of making history for the future to leave unrepeatable and votes for themselves, is this something. It has been often vain, often hurtful, often insincere. If our civilization and national life are to be natural, healthy states, we must root out the artificialities that have grown up in the places of truths. Natural equity, not doctored effort at justice in results, must be the order. Otherwise we must look to thistles for figs, in which expectation let it not be thought strange if we are disappointed for nature yields after her kind.

The present unhappy state of economic differences will continue to mark the world of industry while we continue in the relations that give rise to it. Capital will shut up the wage purse when it is to the interests of capital to do so, just as labor would go on a holiday if money was to be earned that way. On a basis of competition either class will at all times pursue the course that is most advantageous at the time of action. That an advantage to one operates to injure the other will be given no part in the consideration of actual wage contracts. It is a truth that has been demonstrated by word and practice times without number, but when the world grows tired

of placing advantages on one side the results as rewards will follow whatever action they take to prevent advantages.

Good wages to all who work would be possible if opportunities were open. Wages are the full production of labor when unassisted by capital; when capital plays a part in production the division of goods produced is made to labor as wages. When labor seeks capital wages are low. When capital seeks labor wages are high. Either is compelled to pay higher for the other if competition is in its class. Either will thrive if competition is in the other class. Both will prosper if opportunities for the full play of each are preserved. The question then is whether one class shall possess the opportunities or whether they shall be shared. The natural forces appropriated by either class exclusively will place the other class at the greatest possible disadvantage for if the one must seek from the other opportunity to produce the disadvantaged one must sacrifice much to gain the opportunity. Capital as an aid to production will never fail of its full function and reward because it so much promotes production. It is only capitalists as a class that would stand in danger of possible ruin if the opportunities to produce were placed solely in the keeping of labor. Labor as a factor to production will never fail in full measure of force for without labor is no production. But laborers as a class are subjected to the hardest possible conditions when they are bound by the closing of opportunities to submit to the will and terms of labor hiring capital for work. Unhampered labor by the diversity of occupations and the never failing flow of production a self-employing system would make sure, would be able even in seasons of depression to make living expenses and keep the stream of commerce moving. Such seasons of depressions as we know would

decrease in length and frequency as the natural results of unresisted operations approached a complete adjustment of economic forces. The world of business could survive greater efforts at special legislation than the history of law making has known and be but little disturbed thereby if labor was free to produce and so keep commercial forces in movement. Better than this, special legislation would die out by its own ineffectiveness if the main rights of labor to the forces of production were maintained.

It is not stagnation coming from the abundance of products but from inability of consumers to command those products that causes industrial convulsions. Over-production as an explanation of the industrial phenomena named stagnation, crises and hard times, is an exploding theory, burning out, self-consuming of its own worthlessness to account for the various situations it is said to produce. Under-consumption, its successor, while nearer the exact truth, is like to prove of itself as profitless by way of correction of evils, though it may serve to lead to the true explanation. In the days when over-production did duty as cause for disorders, when it fell from the tongue of apologists as water from the fountain, when it started from the page menacingly, with snake-like fascination to the industrious searcher, then was the unhappy worker roundly and soundly upbraided for his numbers, his impatience, and bade hold his peace when the wheels ceased revolving and the wage roll was cancelled. Under-consumption relieves him somewhat of this load of infamy; but now there are in effect too few of his class, whereas formerly there were too many. Then he produced too much, now he consumes too little. Therefore of him and his class comes stagnation, disaster, whether it be over-production or under-consumption staying the processes of production.

These are terms merely, and either fails to express the truth in clear statement as to why we are subject to periods of idleness and want. Each expresses a condition growing out of inequalities that follow discriminations in opportunity. They are different terms to express the same fact, but the fact is a result of unequal distribution of economic goods among the people and not the cause of the inequality.

Labor would not importune capital for work at any wages, much less at what is now given, if the command of life necessities hinged not upon wage-getting. Folly and blindness lead when we travel the road of restrictions in opportunity. Injustice guides when of the abundance created by labor only that small portion is left to labor that will sustain life. Nature, heaven, makes no such mistake; there is plenty for all if the conditions governing our industrial state are fitted to the needs of the inhabitants, not the needs fitted to conditions that are of themselves unjust and insufficient to the requirements of a much lighter population.

Land on which to earn wages does not imply a nation of agriculturists. Instead of concentration, it would rather effect a dissipation of labor forces to a larger variety of industries. Did this thought ever trouble the serenity of the objector? Perhaps his business of objecting has grown to such all-engrossing magnitude and sufficiency that he has not had time for the thought that we must have land on which to rest the shop, the tools, the counter, then, even as now. Land on which to stand, to sit, to lie in sleep; land to be born upon; land upon which to be educated in the mysteries of life; land to be buried in, no matter who owns it. And, oh, brother of the objecting mind, it is true you must have ground or grounds upon which to object; your business would go to pieces otherwise and the world be so much better with-

out it that you, with your peculiar notions, cannot afford to advocate a state that would contribute towards its dissolution.

Since we must have land to assist in the discharge of all the functions of this life, the ownership of the land is of vital importance. The effects of private ownership when land is subject to the facts of monopolization bear directly on the wage difficulty. High rents and limitations to industry, inseparable from monopolization, reach out through all avenues of industrial activity and diminish and restrict results and operations. The control of products cannot be divorced from the control of opportunities. If these are controlled by a class, that class will control products. The mining industries provide a fair illustration of this kind of control. The mine operators are supreme in fixing prices in the lines of production in which they are engaged. They not only regulate the prices to consumers, but manipulate prices in a way to kill competition when the resources they draw from have not yet been subject to complete monopolization. Their power along all lines of operation must increase with the growth of population and the advance of scientific aids to production. As with one, so with all. Strength attracts strength. Every advantage contributed by science is directed to the support of those who possess the primary advantages. Those who possess them not get but the merest fragments, the unavoidable overflow.

Land comprehends all forces to production but labor. Labor applied to land produces the goods man desires. The control of these goods fixes the economic prosperity of the producers. If they who produce control the goods, production will go to labor. If another class beside labor springs up and gets control of production,

this control must be in the nature of a gift from labor or in the nature of an usurpation over one of the forces to production, one, or both. If land is necessary to production, control of land embraces control of production; if labor is necessary to production, control of labor is also control of production. In no industrial commonwealth of the world has labor created a second class to whom to give the bulk of production. In no industrial commonwealth of the world where great fortunes exist in single families do we find a condition of prosperity in the producing classes commensurate with the volume and value of production. This being true, the inequality of wealth control must certainly lie in the control of one or both factors to wealth production. Since no commonwealth of national significance recognizes or practices direct human ownership, the cause of economic inequalities must be found in private land-ownership. Men are not owned; land is. By the ownership of land comes control of the products of land and that other factor to production, labor.

CHAPTER III.

MONOPOLY AND WAGES.

Whatever detracts from the returns to labor as a decrease of money wages or decrease in value-of-products wages, is in effect a tax on labor for the benefit of those who pay wages and those who by virtue of superior advantages are able to produce at prices ruinous to weak competitors. In any decrease of net returns for production they who control production will suffer least; the disadvantaged factor will be compelled to bear the heaviest portion of decrease. All disadvantages connected with private monopolization of opportunities in any industrial department will accrue to wage earners. The fact of monopolization makes it so to the degree of monopolization prevailing. When private ownership of natural resources prevails, they who control the resources will not permit their development except upon terms entirely satisfactory to the controllers. This control gives them the power of postponing or arresting development, except upon their terms. It gives them power to regulate wages in the degree to which these industries stand in proportion to the entire industrial wage rate. When the natural forces to production are subject to private control it gives rise to a distinct and peculiar function of capital which will array capital against labor so long as this private control is continued. In a just and healthy state of industry capital and labor work amicably for mutual profit and helpfulness. In the perversion that follows private control of resources this wise course is destroyed. In this way: The man who

controls a rich mineral deposit hires other men to do the work necessary to placing the products of that field on the markets. To consider the development of this industry in the most profitable way to labor we will assume that production in this particular case is of the most primitive type. One man owns the deposits. He pays the men a per cent. of the results of their work. Being a coal field, he allows each miner one-fourth of the coal he brings to the surface. This is the miner's wages. If the miner brings up two tons daily his wages are one-half ton; the ton and a-half of his day's work are the profits of the owner. If one hundred men worked the mine they would, at the same rate, bring up two hundred tons, fifty of which would be wages, one hundred and fifty being profits to the owner. This one hundred and fifty tons daily he sells and puts into machinery for the further and more rapid development of his mine, converting three-fourths of the products of one hundred men into capital for his own use. The machinery he puts in doubles the effectiveness of his workers and now they bring up daily four hundred tons, fifty of which he allows them as wages, fifty we will say represents the wear on his machinery, and three hundred the profits of the owner. Continuing this rate of gains for a few years, the mine owner finds himself possessed of wealth representing hundreds of thousands of dollars. If he has paid the government one-tenth of all his gains for the ownership of the mine, he still has an enormous rate of clear gains, or more than two hundred and fifty tons daily as profits.

Having improved his mining facilities to the highest degree of profitableness he seeks now new investments for his wealth. He buys more mineral land, where he starts in with all the advantages of machinery, making the highest gains from the first. He erects mills for

working up raw materials into finished products. He builds railroads for the conveying of his own and other people's goods to the most desirable markets. Being established and with enormous resources at command he is a power in the industrial world. In coal field operations he can manipulate prices in a way to shut out competition by any one less ably equipped than himself. He can lower the price of coal one-half, if necessary, to keep out competitors; having choked competition he can double the normal price of coal and hold it there until the threat of competition compels him to lower it. In his mills the same tactics prevail. In railroad matters his method of operation is essentially the same. He can, at the prospect of rivalry, aside from the lowered prices of goods, advance wages of workers to bring up by so much wage rates in the same industries, and in this way embarrass competitors. After the danger to his sovereignty is over he can lower wages to lowest possible point, dragging down by the value of his wage force the pay of every wage worker in the world field. He can manipulate railroad tariffs to the ruin of competitors, besides putting his own goods in the market comparatively free of transportation costs. So by control of natural resources enters capital upon its peculiar function, that of preventing competition and that of monopolizing opportunities. So also by this control, assisted by monopolization, wages are depressed and in continuation of this policy wage workers are brought to a state where they have not the least power in the regulation of wages. This state of helplessness is complete when monopolization of resources and opportunities is complete. For the worker there is no opening; he must work where wages are to be earned. The small capitalist is crushed by this system—where,

then, shall labor appear if it tries to stand out against the force that relentlessly crushes all weaker than itself?

Had the one hundred men gotten control of the mine by the same terms as the one they could have developed it as fully. The only difference in results would have been the financial standing of all concerned. The profits that then went to one all would have shared. The other enterprises following success in the coal field they could have pursued. This would have resulted in joint control and monopolization. The one hundred could as successfully destroy competition by weaker ones as did the single owner and capitalist. This would have produced the same effect we get by combinations and trusts under the prevailing system. If, instead of the rights of the whole people passing to the one hundred in the ownership of the mineral field, the rights of all to it having been reserved, the succession of powerful monopolizations would not have appeared. Capital would not have been destroyed, but monopolization would have been rendered impossible. Capital would have continued its legitimate work of promoting production for the benefit of producers. It would not have been devoted to the crushing of many for the profit of one; it would have been put to the service of all affected by its operations. There would not have existed the opportunity for one man to make of himself a millionaire by the dooming of thousands to poverty; the prosperity of thousands by the injury of none would have resulted. Take away enormous aggregations of capital in the control of one or a few and monopolization of man-created opportunities, as manufactories, means of transit, etc., will be put outside the pale of possibilities; take away private control of natural resources and these colossal hoards of wealth will be impossible of collection singly or in combinations to a magnitude dangerous to the

prosperity of the mass of the people. Control of either wealth factor ultimates in control of the wealth.

The injury to labor possible under the prevailing system is governed by the degree to which monopolization is possible in the industry to be developed. Some fields are capable of monopolization to a point where competition ceases, others in a less, and still others in a still less ruinous degree. Those that can be monopolized to a degree altogether excluding competition bear with the greatest downward force on the wage rate. By the destruction of competition the portion of the wage fund devoted to carrying forward that industry is contracted to the lowest amount that will be accepted by workers in the monopolizing establishments. By the shutting out of competitive concerns there is a per cent. of the total numbers of wage workers thrown out or kept out of work. These enter the labor markets of the world and bid for the places of those already employed. This has the effect of still further cutting down the wage rate, until in final effect it is reduced to the lowest living point. Before monopolization was absolute the wage rate could be maintained at a point of respectable support for workers, for there were few idle. After complete monopolization workers must accept what is offered because they are helpless. The degrees of monopolization in any industry will determine the number it is to add to the great army of those seeking livings through the medium of wages in money. The total of such seekers will grow even though population should remain stationary; the tendency to a complete monopolization with the combinations possible to monopolizations would result so. With the increase of population the number of wage competitors will largely increase. Coal fields are subject to complete monopolization, therefore coal prices are subject to full control by mine owners, the number

of workers who find employment there can be fully determined by those who own the mines, and the wages of workers can be regulated by those who set the price of coal and hire the workers. But wages here cannot be reduced to the lowest possible wage point until monopolization in other fields has reached completion as an absolute fact of control or is established by the comparative fact of lack of competition. The fishing industry is not at present subject to monopolization, although capital in its oppressive function has made it much less profitable to those who cannot engage in it as a large enterprise. The solitary fisher with his little boat and simple nets can earn a meager income; he with the more primitive traps can supply fish for the family table. Well-equipped fishing fleets fitted for a season's work have clear advantages in fish taking, so that the profit is to capital here as in the coal fields it is to appropriation resulting in capital and monopolization. The development of each industry by our methods has taken from the lists of self-supporters in each and placed them among those who must seek livings elsewhere. In the industry subject to the advantages given by capital alone a single worker without much capital can earn a living, can supply his own table. But a man may not mine coal on the land of another; he can be utterly prohibited entrance on this ground. So it is an evident fact that the degree to which private control is possible is the degree to which labor can be injured and oppressed in the given industry.

Whatever detracts from the efficacy of wages to command economic goods decreases them in that amount. Wages are comparatively low if they command but a low rate of living. One hundred dollars a month would be low wages for a common worker if his rent should be

fifty, water and heat twenty-five, leaving twenty-five of the one hundred dollars for all other expenses, they being proportionately high. Our land system compels wage earners who have not been so fortunate as to secure a home, to pay, in proportion to their earnings, large rents for houses in which to live. As long as the present wage scale and land system prevail there are millions of people who cannot secure themselves homes. Land is too high, wages are too low for them to thus protect themselves against this continuous drain on the slender resources out of which must come clothing and food. Building associations and organizations of that kind which work for mutual aid have been a blessing to thousands of families, but they do not reach down to the class in greatest need of relief. There are districts where the power of the landholder is too sure for this and where the workers are land bondmen to the men who own the soil. In many of the monopolized industries the rent feature is a part of the business, as is the company store. The monopolizers not only determine how much shall be paid for service, but also dictate how it shall be spent—the land and all that is placed upon it being the recognized property of the employer. The employés have no choice but to pay the rents demanded, as they have no choice as to where their earnings may be spent. The forces that unite to render them powerless before these aggressions are the ones that throw them on the mercy of the monopolizer, that make them from their own necessities crowd down wages to the lowest living point.

In many communities not thus controlled by an individual or company, land is held at a figure entirely too high to warrant labor enjoying even a hope of a recognized right in land. Many times in many places it is not for sale, but for rent only. So rents must continue to be

paid, a tax for the benefit of individuals who control the land. This unceasing expense is a large per cent. of wages earned and is a noticeable hindrance to the prosperity of those who must pay it; it is an injustice to labor greater than to any other class as all burdens on necessities must be. Of the meager wages labor in the common levels commands, a twenty per cent. for rents lessens the power of wages to a more hurtful degree than does the same proportion injure one who receives twice as much. The laborer whose family numbers six can better afford to pay ten dollars rent when he receives fifty dollars a month than he can pay five with wages at twenty-five. He has a much brighter hope of being able to extricate himself from the power of rent when he receives fifty than when he receives half of that. Oppressions, burdens, always rest most heavily on the weak, always pursue the weak while the stronger have a possibility of escape or partial escape by the throwing off of a portion of the weights.

Direct rents and the evils of communities being owned by individuals are not the only financial ways in which labor is made to contribute to the graspings of the land monopolist. Labor is made to bear through the lowering of wages the expenses of rents in one form or another when employers are so unfortunate as to be under power of this inequality.

Every time a rent paying employer is forced to reduce wages his employ es enlarge their proportionate contribution to the landholder. Of course this is true of other classes as well. Merchants, tradesmen of all sorts and commercial enterprises of all kinds are compelled to hand out as rents a considerable percentage of yearly profits. These are disguised under various forms of business necessities, increased prices frequently being the

form assumed. The rent goes to the individuals or companies enabled by law and custom to draw from the helpless sums of money immense in the aggregate and important, sometimes ruinous in single instances. The patrons of such enterprises, the consumers of wealth fitted for use on rent producing lands, are also made to contribute in increased prices to the landholder's purse. The prices fixed by the necessities of rent will be upheld by non-renting producers, or the competition growing out of the unequal conditions to success will force out the rent payers and so virtual monopolization is made practicable. The non-renters through advantages possessed by the fact of their being non-renters, left to encounter less opposition, find combinations easier and more profitable in the main. The inability of rent paying enterprises to maintain a high wage rate is the advantage of non-renters always, the disadvantage of renters always. The standard set here will be followed by all hirers, subject to local and temporary variations, until such a time as combinations for the purpose of destroying competition enters. Then wages may be in specific industries advanced until opposition is forced out, and competition in that line by so much destroyed, wages will go down by decree of monopolization enforced by the competition discharged workers will bring into the wage market. Nothing short of monopoly destruction will sweep away this condition of failure. Nothing short of nationalization of land will level this obstacle to common success, grasping as the land feature does the whole industrial life of our nation. Land free to users would abolish the deadly competition that attends the rent system. Land free to users would dissolve monopolizations that make our rent system doubly effective. If no one man is given a power over land exclusive of its use by all others he will have no power to take the greater

part of his brother man's earnings as rent and he will not be able to deprive other men of the use of land which he himself does not use. He will not be found doling out the mineral gifts of nature at rates enriching to himself and unfair to the rest of mankind. He will not withhold from any the right to succeed.

Rents levied and collected in the way we know are greatly above what they would be under a system that taxed in a legitimate way and for a legitimate purpose. The land system of to-day, handed down from the past, is one chapter in the world's great book recording special privileges to special bodies. Its commentary is to be read in the appended pages often glanced over carelessly or ignored, telling of the weight of oppression resulting from an order that enables one man in a few years to collect millions of wealth from millions of his fellow creatures.

No man has a moral right to hold or control more land than he can or does use in the prosecution of his business. What he has beyond his needs in this line is sure to restrict some other one in a society where the volume of population pressing against the land supply makes rents possible. Land is a fixed quantity. The numbers and needs of the race are increasing quantities. The necessities of the race measured against the land supply determines the rent rate, when the land is subject to private control. Rent rates under a nationalized system would be determined by the needs of government measured against the value of the land. By private control rents are as high as the necessities for land make possible, because being a private monopoly but one force determines the rate and that force is the needs of the people governed by the numbers of people demanding land. Proximity to business centers, desirability for commercial purposes, are but features of this demand. The pressing of population

toward a certain point increases the rent rates of that point. By national control the total rent for land would be equal to governmental expenses and would in no place exceed the proportional value of that place compared with other places, unless the people chose to put money into the national treasury as a wealth reserve by paying rents above the demands of government for actual expenses.

The events of every-day life argue the injustice of private, immutable control of the land element of life and progress. High rents confine children to squalid tenements—pens, rather than homes. High rents deny to the worker the right of self-employment keeping him in the employ of another, where he must work for whatever wages at whatever hours his employer demands; or the same cause forces him into idleness if the wage rolls are filled without him. High rents keep out competition in what we call a competitive system. By preventing competition is established monopoly for those who have grasped opportunities, making worker to compete with worker for a place, consumer to compete with consumer for goods. Monopolizers and those who control opportunities do not compete with one another; they combine. Occasionally the combination is for the purpose of destroying a weak member of their order or for the purpose of keeping out a threatened invasion of their ranks. Usually, in the manipulation of prices the combination is for the purpose of fleecing the rest of the commercial world or in the regulation of wages to take the advantage of labor their control of opportunities makes possible. Land letting as a means of livelihood is not legitimate business in a moral sense; it is slave dealing, tyranny, in its economic and social results. No man should by either law or customs be permitted to control land on which another man must live. Land being a necessity to life and subject to control, should be controlled by the state. No

man should be permitted to extract rents from the productions of land users, but since production issues from application of labor to land, all rents levied upon land should be regulated and collected by the entire people for the public good. Private control of natural resources is the surest way to inequalities in the economic relations of the people because it renders opportunities unequal. Man, given control of land that God, not he, neither laws nor customs can create, will abuse the inherent rights of the race to it by oppressive rents, monopolized opportunities, and the many ways in which these work to the injury of those from whom the control of land has been wrested.

The world of mankind owes no man a living, but mankind owe every individual member of the family an opportunity to make a living, free from the preyings of unholy greed and protected from the oppressions of covetous avarice. Mankind owe this so much to each individual that they are self-compelled by force of soul conviction to establish charities for the unfortunate in all things, schools for the ignorant and churches for those in spiritual darkness, that these may continue to live and may know how to be happy and good.

Yet to what cross purposes we play. While none may suffer if within the reach of the gentle hand of charity, we doom thousands, by fact of their birth, to dependence on the kindness of others if they would live. Is it not better, much better, to make it possible for all to earn an independent livelihood than to support by charity those who are able and anxious to do, this better from an economic consideration as from a moral standpoint? The essential part is, give all a chance. The rest will adjust itself if it be adjustable, which it will prove to be, largely. At the least hopeful view there is a state nearer adjustment of all moral and commercial forces than we now know. Trades-unions, party platform resolutions, help-

less acknowledgments of errors or futile words meant to call attention to what none but the most stone-blind fail to see, the most stubbornly perverse fail to admit. These do not suggest remedies broad enough for the evils of which complaint is made.

Efforts at wage regulations through compulsion of employers strike, lifeless, at the errors they make pretense of correcting. Their presence shows one hopeful sign, and that, the awakening of the world. Eight hour demands are good as evidence of these inclinations, anti-child labor agitations are expressive of humanitarian growth. Minimum wage rates and maximum of requirements point the direction from which the gale is setting in. But they are all mere conservatisms. Agitator, lawgiver, your misused brother for whom you seek a fraction of justice would labor sixteen hours a day if he could find two masters to employ him or one who would give him two days' work in one or even one day's pay for two days' work rather than see his little ones suffer, so peculiarly constituted is the human heart. He would see his budding girl work amid loathsome surroundings at a time when she should be carefully nurtured and nobly schooled rather than have her suffer greater want or buy bread at the price of her soul when her father at an eight-hour day at minimum wages cannot care for her. This is the father care the father love will exercise. He will even lie and teach his child to lie that she may evade your well meant protection, and work, for life is dear and hunger's fangs are keen. If he cannot of his own efforts secure enough to support the little ones he will let them help, in the pitiful and sorrowful kindness he must show his own. Brother, agitator or lawgiver, you would work for sixty cents a day if you could not get a dollar, and so will he for whom you wrestle in your kindness of heart, sincere, though you blunder much. You cannot compel the op-

pressor to ease the load he has laid on labor while you leave labor powerless to be his own emancipator. You cannot compel the monopolizer to give labor a certain portion of the goods he creates while your every act and law declares the irrefragable right of monopoly to the control of those goods, while you deny labor all but the portion monopoly chooses to give, subject to the puny regulations you may seek to impose, the little you can force monopoly to give.

Futilities and impotencies have had a day sufficiently prolonged to convince of their true natures. Conservatism in demands and acts have proven but sops to whet the cormorant appetites of monopolism. Timid souls gather up courage to present a conservative measure or mildly demand a conservative measure, and trusts and monopolies smile and ignore both the demand and the measure. Bold spirits propose radicalism and monopoly and trusts look hurt and begin to tremble for the safety of the country. Then conservatives take fright and array themselves against radicals and plutocracy fastens another shackle to labor. The past efforts at adjustment of differences in beginnings and ends have been educative and useful to a degree. They have shown the spirit and aim of the plutocratic powers, if such powers really needed a demonstration as to their ultimate intentions. The efforts have not helped labor beyond a preparation for a stronger demand.

The letting of deposits in either the precious or useful minerals, or any resource of natural wealth, to private parties for their personal aggrandizement is a colossal mistake and a most atrocious wrong against the users of these gifts. Since they are not the result of industry and cannot be produced by human effort but are supplied by the beneficence of creative power they should be free

to the equal enjoyment of all, governed by the necessities of the users. These supplies are fixed in quantity. The volume of them nature has supplied is all we shall ever have, although man in the process of development may bring out acceptable substitutes for many of them, and thus add to the store of supplies they now fill. But until then, and even then the mass of people should not be deprived of the use of these riches at the lowest possible cost. The fact of their being of a nature rendering them subject to appropriation does not in one iota of man to man justice and right support the appropriation by private parties. They are as necessary to the progress and happiness of man as land is necessary to life.

The prevailing method of dealing with these, turning them over to the extortion of private control, largely increases the burdens of labor by still further reducing the power of wages to the extent the personal wealth of this class of monopolizers is increased by the unjust gain on the necessities so governed. This injustice is to all, but bears most distressingly on labor because of labor's meager funds. It also bears on labor indirectly in the same way rents affect labor in their indirect influence in addition to their direct operation. The contributions of wages-paying concerns to the demands of monopolizers increase business expenses and so increase prices to consumers until such a time as competition and combination enter to drive them out. This increase in expenses also, doubtless, has a local and temporary influence on wages, although wages will ultimately be fixed by the necessities of laborers governed by their ability to command wages. In all the disadvantages listed against the money-wage worker, the worker whose wages are his products shares, although the operation must vary. He must exchange more of his goods for these necessities, which, in effect, lowers his wages. He must exchange more products

for a given amount of the products of those industries wherein the consumption of monopolized productions entered. The added expenses of production operate in this way and to added expenses are added increased profits on the entire transaction.

If it be said that these added expenses are too small to be of any real importance, it may be stated as a fact of undeniable significance that no wrong is a small matter. One may be less burdensome in the proportion of its importance, but little or great, wrong is wrong in the slightest degree of existence. The expense increase through the use of a single ton of coal in a factory where coal is a necessity to production is infinitesimal in proportion to the total of expenses. The profits to the coal field people that the factory must pay on thousands of tons yearly are not small. Expenses of leases and other forms of rent are not small. The sum of all increases inseparable from private control of industrial forces represents the robbery of labor and much loss between the price of production plus a reasonable profit and the price at which productions reach consumers.

Wages under present management are much below what they would be if industrial development should be put on a profit-sharing plan. Then would labor share in the values created by labor. Should state control succeed the prevailing method wages would go up. When the public assumes a monopoly to conduct it for the people there is no selfish private end to be served, and wages in government work are always above what are paid by private enterprises where the same or greater devotion and service is required of employés. Power of wage regulation, crowding down to the lowest possible figure, is a feature of monopolization by individuals, the privilege of private appropriation. It is one means of revenue to the men who appropriate and monopolize.

The impediments we place in the path of progress by our way of dealing with these vital obligations are incalculable in their results. The more important an item the stricter its limitations of control. We call iron the metal of civilization, and restrict its fullest use by the complicated action of private ownership of deposits and further hinder its command by users through action of tariff laws that yet more increase its price. Coal, the companion mineral of iron, without which the former is well-nigh useless in this age, we deny the people free or even reasonably free access to in the same way. Salt, a necessity to life, is likewise rendered dear. The precious metals are mined by private industry and subject to private ownership and sold to the government that the government may have money—may buy money! The list is endless, or ends only with the telling of nature's bounties. The hindrances to production this method of handling fastens on the people, the direct injury to users, cannot be measured. The losses to the people as computed by the wealth of operators of these fields and mines are an approximation of the financial loss only. The graver losses as of opportunity and equality in industrial spheres, whose results speak in the undesirable lots of the wronged are beyond computation by human calculation.

We speak of these natural resources as being sold to their controllers, or by some other named trick as passing into their hands without reservation as to development or the control of their products. Such cannot be sold, or in any true sense be disposed of in this way. There is a law of nature, transcending man-made laws, whereby man is rendered incapable of selling his own, his brother's and his child's right to live. This he essays to do when he claims to sell land. This mock power he attempts to delegate to government when he permits government to dispose of his, his brother's and his child's heirship to

land. Government can have no power in the control of land beyond holding it for the use of those who need it. This is the office of government, as much the governing and preserving of life resources as governing in the commonly accepted sense. Society cannot take away the right to land since land rights are life rights. Society can take away life for certain criminal offenses, but living, being born into the world, is not an offense to be punished by the deprivation of life rights. It cannot be made an offense on the part of the living and conditions equaling persecution for living should not be tolerated.

Competition, and monopolization of wealth resources and opportunities to production, crush the lower class and are consuming the middle class. They have no share in the profits accruing to competition; they are sufferers, rather, because of it for of their productions come profits to one-sided competition. They make monopolization profitable to the monopolizers since they must satisfy the price of monopoly.

The high rates of service in lighting, water and transportation,—in all features to our modern industrial life are directly lowering to wages to the degree in which these services exceed in price a reasonable expense. When these services are furnished by private enterprise rates are double, sometimes treble what the same or better service would be provided by state or municipal ownership and control. All reports showing this condition carry the recommendation to public seizure. Profits on inflated stock is a trick known to private monopolizers, which in effect doubles the otherwise great profits they make. These profits are drawn from labor for service in whatever the line may be. Inflation serves to give regularity and the sanction of businesslike methods to what would otherwise stand as stark robbery. In public control this would

find no place for the business then as now would be conducted for the profit of owners. Where the people are the owners, the profit will go to the people, in whatever the profit may consist.

The strength of monopoly will always be found arrayed against the strength of the people, the demands of monopoly are ever opposed to the prosperity of those without the ring. The factors to wealth production that monopoly controls all must have, if not in actual possession, in the fact of goods produced. This is well known to the former. As monopolizers by combinations and powers inherent in monopoly can command two bushels of wheat and two days' labor for goods or service that should exchange for one bushel or one day's work, they have been enriched at the expense of wheat producers and laborers to the value of one bushel and one day's service. In the control of this private industry the monopolizer through the decline in labor prices is able to demand two days' work for what was formerly the pay for one day's work, and by power of combinations all monopolizers can maintain prices in their products while the branches of industry that have so far found combination impossible cannot protect their products' prices.

The demands of the monopoly masters are far from modest. They, having come into the control of resources, are anxious to develop them that labor may be employed and the world of commercial unions perform its complex work. Such at least is their profession and we have accepted it in good part. They ask for protective measures that the protected may be enabled to pay increased wages; controlling the productive forces, they stop production or limit it if their requests are not acceded to. They ask for franchises and other encouragements that the people may be served. These are usually granted with specifications that enable the holders to become enriched beyond

the returns of reasonable profits. Nearly all industries working under legislative encouragements could be carried on by the community at a much less expense to public service and much better service would be rendered, but it is the almost invariable rule to turn these enterprises over to private control and profit that private parties may give wages to workers and reap riches from the necessities of those they profess to render unreserved benefits. They ask for anything and everything in sight or promise of realization and as inducements hold out the hope of wages to workmen and prosperity to the people if legislation will kindly give them permission to put their hands into the public pocket and take all they find there.

Land being necessary to life its freedom to workers is essential to the common prosperity. Land control is control of the fruits of land, and so, is wage control. There is a fancy and affectation to scoff at the charge of land monopoly. It is said that one man will not get possession of all land, that even a few will not gain ownership, therefore harmful control cannot follow private ownership; that fears on this score are vain and the results of such control are but the ridiculous phantasies of over-apprehensive minds. But it does not need that one or even a thousand should become sole title-holders to the earth that the landed powers may prove restrictive to prosperity and fatal to even life, in degrees. Competition is not among landholders; they do not seek men, entreating them to live on land. Men without land seek them, promising them from twenty-five to fifty per cent. of their productions for the privilege of living on land. All landlord's ambitions and interests are the same and the law of rent is as fixed and certain as that ancient one which altered not. More hopeless of evasion, for there are no subterfuges for its defeat; all men must have land. The essence of monopoly works the work of monopoly. Ex-

tortion will follow privilege and the results of monopoly will run in the wake of monopoly conditions as darkness pursues the setting sun. If a monopoly exercised by one would be harmful the conditions to monopoly will make their exercise by any number less than the total equally harmful to those outside monopoly. In a monopoly controlling coal production the wrong to consumers is great, but coal is not the only source of heat. The sun's rays and the economy in fuel possible by recent inventions and discoveries lessen the evils that would otherwise attend this monopoly power. Many localities depend exclusively on wood, the supply of which is subject to renewal, and although this supply is under monopoly conditions the resources for heat are diverse enough to lessen the effects of a limited, a fixed quantity of heat-producing supplies in one line.

Very few of the movable necessities of life are subject to restrictions that render their distribution under the arbitrary will and regulation of one class. There are substitutes and evasions, and although their control works most unjust results when governed by private monopoly, if freedom of production is guaranteed men will live and command these necessities. But for land there is no substitute. Evasion of its use is impossible. None can dispense with it. None can live without its products. An element to life that exists in fixed quantity cannot be governed by monopoly conditions, cannot be controlled by a part of those who must use it, without the gravest injury to those who must secure its use through permission of title-holders. It is plain that if I must have land upon which to produce wealth forms which by exchange bring me the varying products I must have, the man to whom society has made over the control of the only portion I can use will be able to take of my products such portion as he pleases. He may take a certain per cent.

which in effect makes me his slave-adjunct of land for two or three days out of every six in the week. He will take just such portion as I find I can give him and myself be able to live upon the rest and work. If there is no more land to be used, he will not accept my standard as the standard of living, but will take more and more of my earnings until he sees I am at a point where no more can be taken and I continue to live and produce wealth for him. Beyond this point he will not compel me, for what will it profit a landholder to take the whole product and lose his renter by starvation? He will even have a dead pauper to bury, which is not profitable rent rates. If two be working on his land when one could well care for it he will lose nothing by letting one starve, not even the burial expense, for that he will take out of the products of the other.

Fear and conjecture as to the possible outcome need not to be predicted for the future; nor need they be based on suppositional limitations of landholders. Speculations may be dispensed with so far as practical application is necessary to demonstrate the merciless enslavement of mankind to monopolistic powers. Wage rates and rent rates speak for themselves. The lives of the toiling millions speak yet more eloquently, with damning emphasis. The lives of a land-ruled people do not promise for the future. The years to come are darker for them than is the present. Not that the landholders will kill off the people or crowd them into the sea to keep them off the landholders' land. Oh, no. The land would avail them little that way. It is the people, the press of population that makes landholding profitable. It is the struggle, the competition for the most desirable land, ultimately for land of any kind, that yields golden harvests to landholders. A square foot of land in Greater New York is more profitable to the landholder than hundreds of acres

in the less populous mid-west. Time was when that same land was no more profitable than a like area in the mid-west, but that was when people were few there, too. People come together for mutual profit and help, and the landholder is enriched by their coming. Land in the mid-west will one day command great rents, but after the spreading populations of New York and other like centers have crowded it to a point nearing the limit. The more people the merrier—for the landholder, and the more profitable. Yes, the people will be permitted to live on the landholder's land, such people at least as continue to pay the rent.

It is very simple and altogether undeniable; if I must secure permission of a landholder to live on his land, when he denies me the privilege I must cease to live—on his land. There is other land, but other landholders may be of the same mind. If I must secure permission by paying rent, I must cease to use the land when I am no longer able to pay the rent, though it be exorbitant to a degree of robbery. I cannot make terms, for though there be other land there are other workers, and the second landholder will be of the same mind as the first. Rents are fixed by the necessities of myself and fellow-workers and I must pay the rent asked or do without the land. If the rent consumes one-fourth my earnings, I must pay it; if three-fourths, I must pay it. So must any one who uses the land pay one-fourth or three-fourths of the same earnings if competition for land crowds workers to the first or last necessity.

Land free to labor would lift this load from producers. Labor is helpless while quiescently sanctioning the distribution of opportunities that places the class at the mercy of monopoly. While monopoly controls land labor will pay ready tribute, willingly or unwillingly, realizing it or not. The issue has moved beyond one of temporizing

conservatism, high tariffs or low, trusts, finance and what not. These are only a few of many difficulties crowding for recognition, wrongs calling for redress. They are not in themselves causes. They are results entailing other results. They will cease in all pernicious qualities when their source is destroyed. The matter has resolved itself into one great query suggested by the state into which we have fallen,—shall we continue or shall we cease, shall we succeed or fully and deliberately fail? There are too many phases to the question considered singly, not one of which, not all of which, settled by the wisdom of more than man can result in permanent beneficence. The quieting of one or many of them would afford only a transitory respite.

The profits that tariff destruction would bring to consumers of goods taxed in this way would be speedily swallowed up by other forms of favoritism. A stable and increasing currency, suited to the needs of an increasing demand would fill the coffers of monopoly the fuller. Trusts, heaven defend us! How can the stream cease to flow if the source be not stayed or destroyed? Trusts are but the inevitable consequences of monopolizations, unavoidable and indestructible while monopoly continues, impossible without monopolizations and specializations by legislation. Reform must work from the source to be effective. The whole must be renovated to work justice to all. The saving to labor in tariff abolitions would require but a short time to be diverted to rent. The saving would be a virtual increase of wages, increase of production in control by labor. As land, a primary factor to labor becomes more productive, rent increases. At once rent increase would consume a percentage of the saving to labor by tariff abolitions. Rents working to the point where all labor will contribute to rent the excess of production above bare subsistence, in time rent would con-

sume the full profit. So would it be with all other fractional reforms.

Land monopolization is the source of labor's helplessness. Being deprived of the fullest land use, being burdened with rent, labor must sacrifice more and ever more to the land power as competition for land grows. This draws a sharp distinction between the interests of landholders and those who are not landholders. The distinction grows with the growing needs for land which each new soul creates. Land power is life power, the more the living the more profitable the power.

We are told by the apologist and defender of existing conditions that wages in dollars and cents are higher now than at some period in the remote past. This is true for one substantial reason that the world's money volume is greater many times over than at the time pointed out. They insist that the laborer of to-day enjoys privileges unknown and beyond command by the ancient monarch, but this is true because these things were not then realized in the world, not because the laborer has made up some of the distance that has always separated his life in all details from that of his antithesis. Then the laborer trudged footsore while his man-styled superior was conveyed in clumsy vehicle or jogged on horseback. Now the laborer rides at sixty or more miles per hour, as is boasted, but he rides with the poorest accommodations while his opposite travels in palace cars, by special trains fitted with a sumptuousness undreamed in the wildest flights of the ancient mind. Then both laborer and rich man paid tribute to the robber bands infesting the highways, each paying in proportion to ability. Now the laborer pays tribute to monopoly for privileges of rapid locomotion and monopoly rides free of expense but such as is paid by the laborer in rates on produce and taxes in different

forms, by which taxes monopoly is able to maintain and operate railways.

The increase that actually appears in contrasting the past with the present is that of productive power and the wealth aggregate constantly in evidence as testimony to this increased power. But, who creates the wealth? Midas may furnish the tools, from capital, we say. But how got Midas capital over what the poorest of his beggar-workers got? Was Midas a swifter, surer workman that created more wealth; was he economical that he saved up gold? We say he has the golden touch. We make like explanation of the lives of all who direct their every move into gold-bearing fruits. Thus, the man who secures a franchise and bleeds every one who deals with that franchise power, is said to be gifted with the golden touch. The man, or the few men who by a system of monopolizations control a branch of industry in a whole country are said to be developers of the country's resources.

Comparisons, if honestly made and carried out in detail, prove quite the opposite of what they are wished to convey when introduced to show that the gain in advantages should be considered with an eye single to the glory of existing conditions and a purpose single to their perpetuation on behalf of labor. Those who measure labor's condition by comparison with the past must apply the same test to the changed situation of the privileged classes. If no discrepancy in favor of the latter appears, then may it be said that the worker has held his own. If differences in comparative results do stand revealed the jugglery in comparisons must be said to have had its day, must make its confused excuses and pass out with kindred so-called arguments in favor of existing conditions.

Those who draw comfort from the fact that labor in money wages is paid in amount above the rates of other

times should note that the high-water mark in wage rates has been reached and that late years show a decrease from what was the rate a few years back. Whether that is for or against wage workers must appear from their commercial environs as the value of wage-money like that of all money depends upon the power of purchase the money represents. This aside, we know that workers have not shared in the wealth they have fashioned; we know that opportunities are closing to them. In the space of a generation wealth centralization such as we know and destitution such as millions suffer cannot manifest unless to some are given undue privileges and from others are taken rights. The comparative wage sufficiency against living necessities to-day contrasted with those of the past are not to be satisfactorily determined. The variations in demands make tables of little worth. The changing demands of social life aside from animal necessities are features tables cannot reckon with. As a total summing of needs and the ability of workers to satisfy them we do know that the wage-worker and producer are falling behind, while lower than these the tide of indigence and idleness is being swelled by those who are crowded out of the wage lists and all ranks of self-employing. We do know that pauperism increases and that producers, by the operations of monopolized industries and industry sources, are being robbed in great part of their natural rewards.

That wages fall with the settlement and development of new countries is a fact universally noted. When this fact is introduced and enlarged upon in support of conditions here, those who take it up with that object strengthen the indictment they seek to destroy. It is an endorsement of all the anti-monopolist can say, an admission of all accusations and claims of the socialist. If wages fall as private control of resources in a country progresses, then

the prevention of such lowering is to be accomplished through the prevention of private control. If the open resources characteristic of new countries make wages good in the first settlements wages can be kept good by keeping resources open to labor. The argument made in this apology for growing differences in wealth distribution establishes the cause of those who plead for equality in opportunity.

The curse of our land system rests heavily on us. The burden would be felt by now had no outside influences on wage rates added to its evils. It is augmented by the yearly arrival of thousands from foreign lands who seek homes here, helping with the native increase to expand the values of landholders' possessions. The desirability or undesirability of foreign arrivals does not alter the law of rent. Every added soul taking up a residence with us still more contributes to the power of land monopoly. We have no place for these newcomers but on some possession of the rent extorter. The public domain is practically absorbed and so eliminated from our list of assets. Emigrants settle in wage districts where aside from the wage feature they conflict with the interests of established workers by land competition as developed in higher rents; this is as positive as wage competition, though not as easily to be recognized. These labor centers are being crowded further by the numbers yearly being dropped from the farming element. There is no place for wage-earning population overflows but in the fields and workshops of monopoly. Added numbers make rents in these centers higher and increase prices of foods. Added labor seekers increase competition among workers and so increase the power of the monopolizers of resources. The profit of the earth is for all, yet the landholder reaps the whole profit. Labor receives

wages sufficient to maintain life as the rule of recompense.

Rents will go up with population increase as will all uses of land become dearer if the use is regulated by the law of private gains served by the power of private control. Private ownership of land approaches by control of opportunities, evils growing to be insupportable. With special legislation and land privileges for the rich and all things working together for the power of some and enslavement of many others, who so wise or gifted with powers of discernment as to be able to see where these will lead us to or what they will lead us through if right be not soon enthroned in the management of affairs where wrong has so long held sway.

This question of work and wages, whether wages be money received for service or wages in products, is with us a question of living or dying. Dying singly as individuals from lack of nourishment, and dying in other senses from other causes; dying collectively as a nation from lack of simple honesty. It has grown to be a sphinx-riddle waiting for answer by Americans. The answer to where? being from oppression, to whither? being to oppression, will get us devoured of our own greed. It would be as well to attempt no answer. At present proportions it will not much longer brook neglect; at short lengths it will not satisfy in the contempt of make-believes in party platforms, resolutions of respect and sympathy, our favorite modes of putting off final solutions when elections pend or other occasions demand an expression of sentiment, a drift toward solution.

When special occasions occur we settle it—in this way, and those seem to be the only times we care to pretend an interest in a settlement. Few things are so precious in the politician's love as the worker—just before election,

and to those who have made a trade of politics we have too much given the work of answering the sphinx-riddle. Few things are more out of sight, out of mind, than our real difficulties after election. Fair promises and promises unfair serve to keep the voters in line in campaigns and on election days; after that the state or national militia relieves the politician of law preserving until next campaign time. Nations jobbing political issues do not get the settlements that abide; the jobbers have too much to do looking after personal interests and setting wires for re-election. With guardians like these, the real cares of state,—an earnest attempt to preserve the rights and enforce the duties of all, are but accidental to the main end of self. Rights of the strong, rights of the weak, duties of both as citizens. The jealous guarding of national integrity and honor, more to the weakest member of our nation than in bellicose demand for apology from a fifth-rate power that has shown us some immaterial disrespect. Hope and justice held out to the downhearted toiler, the same to all his brothers of high and low degree. Nor is the capitalistic employer of labor a fit guardian of labor's rights, and such power should not be delegated to one whose interests under our perversions are so antagonistic; neither should these rights be committed to the keeping of those who listen to the capitalistic employer while turning an unhearing ear to the voices of those who speak for labor. Monopoly-capital does not maintain its expensive lobbies for the sole purpose of guarding labor's interests as might be supposed from the protestations of solicitude indulged. The records of their efforts do not bear out their claim.

Labor, too, has had its lobby, the most notable one that has met at Washington in years. Perhaps the very most notable ever convened in that city where lobbying has reached a state of notability which might be called an art.

This, the most notable, went by box car, by foot, by wagon and all manners of locomotion known to the unpretentious, and reached the city on the Potomac in varying stages of dilapidation and jumble. True, the leaders were arrested; happy country if like fate had befallen the class ever. The leaders made one egregious blunder; they trespassed on the grass. They did not know the only trespass they could with impunity commit was on the rights of the people. They had not learned the etiquette of assemblies at Washington, with whom man's rights are a thing of contempt and grass sacred. The lobby accomplished nothing, the notablest that ever met, notable in that it had no influence on legislation, that it lobbied for the people; well would it be if lobbies were ever representative of so great a class. The representation may have been rough and only half true. The representations convened on Potomac's banks are oftentimes only half true, often wholly untrue. That the lobby came unto their own and were received not tells nothing as to the justification and real worth. It is a way the world of legislative bodies that are only half true have, have ever had. England saw similar demonstrations by wronged citizens with parallel temporary results before one great blot could be removed from her national statutes and one great curse lifted from the lives of many English people. The greetings to that lobby from those who understood and those who understood not were of the kind that have since the world began been extended to like bodies. Contumely and jeers, even threats, are the only words of encouragement extended by those who fear to those who dare be brave.

CHAPTER IV.

LAND AND TAXATION.

To deny a child of earth the right to land on which to live is to deny his right to live by taking from him an element to life. To make his needs in this respect the source of tribute to private powers is to give those who control land power over human life and activity in all spheres. To deny his use of land in the prosecution of industry when that same use does not interfere with the better use of some other one, is to deprive him of the inherent right to supply the demands of material existence and in ultimate is to virtually deny him the right to live by depriving him of the power to minister to the necessities of existence in the body. To give any private power the privilege of taxing him for such use of land as he finds necessary to his support is to tax him for the offense of living and in favor of those who must live by the same means. To give any private power the right to withhold land from his use by arbitrary choice or through the medium of impossible rents, is to deny his right to live in favor of those whose natural rights are equal but no greater than his own in the provisions of nature, the necessities to life. To grant that land is necessary to life is to grant these conclusions. The principle of private land control gives complete life and death power over those who do not own land. As ordinarily developed, this power is exercised by regulations and restrictions in production and distribution, by regulations and restrictions in land uses.

Our land system is based on the supposed idea that the greater part of the race are an unfortunate encumbrance and we are driven to the use of the most potent method short of direct destruction to make life for them undesirable and doubtful. So much we concede to the doctrine of chance rule. But in fact we make the numbers a blessing to those controlling opportunities. Society taxes all, workers in greater proportion to their means, on the products of labor, as if their creations were an injury to the world. Thereby is restricted the control of wealth in the amount seized by society; thereby is limited wealth production in the amount which the tax consumes might act in capital for the production of more wealth. But before society can claim its share the tax collected by individuals for the foothold of earth upon which workers must stand to labor and live must be satisfied. The first mentioned tax is levied by a legitimate power although placing restrictions upon what, within reasonable limits, should be encouraged by all fair means. The second is in itself dangerous to society by the institution of two classes: those who demand tribute and those who render tribute. Its continuation accentuates the primal differences between these classes, increasing the power exercised against those who have not, increasing the helplessness of the same class. It is raised from a source over which society as a whole should exercise control, being a source of life and social prosperity.

So long as labor is taxed in the smallest fraction for the possession of self-created products, production is that much discouraged and life for the producers is made that much less desirable and pleasant. There is a sacred, a divine right of property, and of the man who has grown a bushel of corn on a few square feet of earth it should be said, It is his, for he caused it to appear; of the man who builds himself a house comfortable and pleasant to

look upon, It is his, for he builded it. Society may justly insist on his paying a tax for the ground the one excludes others from in the corn culture or the other in the site of the building and its grounds, but neither should be fined for the possession of the corn or house or the benefits either confers. These products make the producers happier, and, ordinarily, better, and therefore more desirable members of society, blessing themselves and the world through their efforts and the unrestricted possession of products. Neither form of production discourages other producers. They are both, in fact, incentives to effort to all who behold them. Some other man will raise wheat to exchange for corn, another man will pattern a house after the first, improving as his genius may upon the architecture of the other. But other men are born who must use land too; all may confer together and decide upon the amount the first four may pay to the entire community for this exclusive use of the land as their possession will compel others to take up and improve poor lands, or to move out of the circle of easy exchange to a region where land is not already in use. By such an arrangement the community says to competitors for the most desirable land, You must all have land and it is the business of government to preserve equality in opportunity among its subjects. Here is land in different stages of productiveness. Those who use the best we will fairly tax for the good of the rest who must use less productive land; this tax for land we will graduate to the productiveness of land used, down to that grade upon which labor can no more than earn a competence. There are conveniences and blessings we will provide for all out of this fund. In this way we will equalize opportunities; in this way we will provide for government expense proportioning its weight to the ability of those composing it.

To tax land, making land use to pay government expense, not in part, but entirely, would be to put taxation on a reasonable and equitable basis. It would tax men for what they withhold from other men instead of taxing them for what they add to other men's pleasure and profit. The land used in productive processes may profitably to society and without injury to the user be taxed, for while he holds it others who would produce as much or more are shut out from it. Land should never be made to bear the expenses of individuals who do not use that portion from which they receive revenue. In so abusing land rights the revenue that goes to individuals deprives producers of the amount they must thus hand over to landholders. The justice of taking government revenues from the users of land is readily to be seen: It is one thing we must all have; therefore all would be contributors to government expenses, and that, too, when properly adjusted, in exact proportion to the land values held. It is the one limited element to life supplied by nature, therefore an equal right to its use would not be discrimination for or against any man or class. A well regulated tax on its possession would not be robbery of any, for they who pay the highest tax would occupy the most productive land. This may be illustrated by a supposititious division of land values. Considering the values to be divided into one billion equal shares the man who exercises control over land valued at one share would pay one-billionth part of government revenues. This would represent the value he holds, the value of the opportunity he has closed to exercise by any other. Whether this value is in the form of a few square feet of city land on which he does repairing of broken toys or a many-acred farm far from the region where the concentrated demand for land multiplies its productive qualities he would pay one share. Juster tax rates cannot be devised and a fairer

basis than land values is not to be found. All others, aside from inequalities that are unavoidable, must be objected to because of uncertainties and deceptions attending their valuations by owners and tax-determining officials.

Land, being indispensable to human life, should be held in trust by government for the use of the people. Land belongs to the living; the dead have no rights in land, to dispose of it, to govern its control. The child born to-day cannot in any justice be governed in his use of land by the individual and collective rights of the generation that ceases at his birth. His right is undeniable and present, based upon his needs; their right has ceased for they no longer need it. The laws they agreed upon for their own control this child may alter as he finds them too cramped, not suited to the changed social order his birth introduces, the changed conception of justice his wisdom brings to men. Their rights of control, in all things pertaining to his life, are not. The regulations governing their actions in the body came to an end when they quitted the body and do not descend to their successors. The child born to-day must have the land they no longer use; he must have it to live on and by its fruits in manifold productions and uses or cease to live at the very entrance to life because land is lacking for his use, is denied him. He must regulate its use as the changed social and industrial conditions make imperative a more socialized ownership. In times past land control by the word and will of dead and past users of land worked but little hardship in the industrial life of Americans. Land was plentiful and opportunities abundant, unused and undeveloped. This plenty and abundance has through land claiming ceased and with its cessation passes the interest of former generations in the land rights of the living; ceases the shadow of right to private

land control by the living for land control will finally result in man control.

That our land system is an inheritance developed by selfishness makes change appear a long work of education and warfare against the concentrated strength of classism. That all rights, save those of property rights in essence, have come to be regarded as universal, points the direction of thought along this line. It is possible the defenders of our present land system have not reflected that men must live in this world; that it is the one principal thing for them to do, and for those who succeed them. That they have no choice but to live; in short, that the one reason they are cast into this world is that they stay in it a little while to bless or to curse it. Too often, sadly enough for the world and the principles governing men's acts to men, it is only a very little while they stay. Yet for them, what infinitudes of misery, what eternities of suffering they are made to undergo in that little while. How much this misery and suffering by union against life contribute to the littleness of time they spend here, let God reckon, for man in his greeds cares not.

What land is held beyond the needs and uses of its claimants is held back from the service of their kind. Land held for rents and speculative purposes deprives some of the right to earn livings by making it impossible for them to do so. To work and enjoy the fruits of labor unhampered is a natural and imprescriptible right. Land subject to private rent regulations reduces the worker's wages in the amount to which claimant's demands exceed the rent that would be demanded under an order whereby all land would be made to yield a proportionate share of government expenses, taxation of land to be regulated by the value thereof. Taxes on land values solely would free workers from the double burden now imposed, by

which the landholder and society tax him, not only for the use of land, but for the conveniences and aids to production which labor places on land. These additions to the burdens of labor subtract from the profitableness of all efforts put forth.

Land held back from use for speculative purposes deprives labor of wealth in the amount that labor is deprived of occupation through dearth of available land. Wealth is not created without land, and if land is fenced off from use the wealth it would yield by application of labor to its resources is not brought forth. This holding of land also decreases the share of wealth labor controls in the amount the higher rents for land used is an increase beyond what would be demanded if the unused land should be thrown open to access of those who need it. In a tract of land composing a million acres if five hundred thousand acres are fenced off from use, the people of that tract must accommodate themselves to the other half. It also, as has been said before, gives power over the lives of those who have no recognized claim to land, for land power must be conceded as but another term for life power.

Power to control labor without being in any degree legally responsible for the life and well being of those who supply labor, is to the users of labor the cheapest possible form of human slavery. The apologist and emancipatist (by word of proclamation and constitutional amendment) always become greatly and indignantly exercised over the use of this word. They point you to that remarkable, truth expressive New Year's message of a hero; they convincingly flaunt before your eyes that neat bit of sarcasm entitled the thirteenth amendment and their case is complete. So be it. But the letter killeth ever if the spirit be absent. It matters little in form and nothing in fact to the oppressed toiler whether he receives clothing, food, and a hut in which to crawl for shelter, all pro-

vided by his master recognized in law, or receives the equivalent of these doled out as wages; wages from an employer who feels he has a claim to the eternal gratitude of workers for giving them employment, and who would find the cruder forms of slavery too clumsy and expensive for his fullest action and profit. He has the power to compel labor for such wages as he gives, for the resources have been locked and labor has no choice. This power he holds and exercises through privileges granted and perpetuated by the laws of the land, privileges which render forced servitude as virtual and absolute as though property in human bodies had not been abolished—by word of proclamation and constitutional amendment.

All consumers must pay tribute to the class to whom have been delegated use and control of wealth resources. In this lies the strength of the class. It is the most complete favoritism for the favored, the most effective bondage to those great numbers most directly discriminated against. There is no argument in support of the superior right of a class to the sources of prosperity. The control has been handed over in the nature of a gift, virtually, that they may feed fat upon the needs of their kind. The power is absolute; we have reserved no degree of authority in the case as it now stands. If they choose to pay their workers such wages as men respecting their rights and lives cannot afford to work for and labor declares a strike, the consuming world must suffer for it. If they unite and advance the price of their commodities the public must pay the price or dispense with the goods. This is worse than a tax on industry; it is industrial tyranny.

There are powers of redress for these wrongs to the people if the people will exercise them. If the public sense of fairness has not yet risen to the justification of seizure in the control of natural resources, there is a state nearer justice than the present, to be arrived at by less

determinate action. The control of such industries on a plan of public profit-sharing, which would include fair wages to workers and fair prices to consumers to be enforced by a forfeiture of control for failure, would be a long advance beyond our prevailing system which makes robbery of the people beyond their defense. Such an improved system would be a mere subterfuge, but one greatly preferable to the present system. It would be less satisfactory than direct public control for many reasons, the principle of which, aside from the spirit of justice to be considered, is the probable inability to command honesty in operations so restricted and governed. The legal mockery we call anti-trust laws proves the inefficiency of government, so far, to restrict robberies committed in the guise of business energy.

There is no one thing in the world of society a panacea for all its ills. But there are fountain-heads from which many ills or blessings may flow and establish a distribution of bad or good according as the source may be. Our land system is the parent of many evil conditions, many oppressions in industrial circles, the foster parent and guardian of many more. The evils that are not the immediate result of land monopolization have that giant iniquity for their great exemplar and ready defense. The monopolistic cause assembles to the support of a single feature the entire monopolistic force. These have realized that union generates strength. Herein is wisdom. The many-schooled reformers of industrial abuses quibble over hair-splittings in the theory and theories for correction, and monopoly feeds on.

The profit of the earth is for all; the king himself is served by the field. Truer statement than this was never made; grander summing of truths to support land

nationalization cannot be made. The king, the beggar, all, must live by land.

American legislators and officials have given to corporations millions of acres of the public land, the profit of which should be to all; this they have done without reserving to the public any of the profits to accrue from such donations. They have worked hitherto as a partially disguised curse, hiding under the cloak of improved commercial and industrial facilities the dagger of monopolization so deadly in its thrusts at the common interests. The evils inherent to a system like ours increase daily in disregard of common rights. These rights are ignored, the appeals and demands of the people are unheeded, their needs passed over with contemptuous scorn.

We are a tax-paying people; a tax-admiring people; a tax-worshipping people. It might almost be said we are happy only when paying taxes or seeking some pretext for levying a new tax (a tax on the poor man), so much so that with some a man's patriotism is gauged by his avidity to be taxed—for needful or wasteful and discriminating purposes, it matters little. The man who objects to a tax, even if it be discriminating and needless, is classed by the defenders of all taxes (on other men) as an enemy to our institutions and a traitor seeking to play this country over to some foreign power.

So much at least appears. Those who fundamentally promote tax gathering are in some way benefited thereby, or hope by endorsement of some other scheme to receive a more ready support to their own plan. Monopoly industries band together to place the burden on those who cannot combine, save at the polls, to resist the injustice done them. It is the honor that obtains among thieves. One monopoly chief sees a particularly inviting field and seeks alliance with another chief who has cast covetous

eyes on some other tempting opportunity and a coalition is effected resulting in the attainment by each of his desire. This multiplies taxes direct and indirect. There are many who by no possibility of circumstances can be benefited by these discriminative taxes who nevertheless demand them. Herein is to be discerned a power in politics. To their misconception of public duties and rights there is salvation in a tax. Times grow good and they ask a tax to keep them good. Times grow hard and they ask a tax to relieve the pressure of stagnation. A tax is their poison or antidote as the case may require. Not taxes for government is their faith, but taxes. The proof that an animal body is full of blood is not the strength and activity of the animal, but the severance of blood vessels from which if abundance pour forth it may be argued that the animal has blood.

Public money devoted to the benefit of society in the way of public works is the wisdom of taxation. From such expenditures society reaps many fold in the blessings of education and the betterment in all social ways, of those who come under the influence of these. Of the money devoted to such uses very little is lost to the people. While occasional frauds may creep in, the rule is honesty in the disbursements of funds set apart in this way. The job grows more in evidence here also, but the extravagances and misapplications that so occur are the smallest fraction in significance to the burden of taxation for private interests which the public continuously carries. The money diverted from the use of labor in the operation of class-favoring laws is the prime iniquity in our tax scheme. A small part of this money if devoted to the creation of public benefits would make us a nation rich in libraries, schools, parks, good roads,—in all useful and refining arts. These can be had without pinching the allowance of daily food of one human being, but not by the known

way. In these benefits all would share and be the better for them. No one, of the hosts now paying tribute to the private powers of taxation can be benefited by the taxes they so pay. No one so taxed can be affected but to injury. Lessening the tribute users now pay to holders of resources would leave more wealth with the actual producers. Diverting that lessened volume of tribute from personal to public uses would still further, and rightly, benefit actual producers. They who create wealth are worthy to enjoy and control it.

As if the whole human world were leagued against him to plunder and harass, and not under the highest possible obligations to him, the man who works is made the point of assault in all that pertains to his comfort, and very life. It matters not that these advances are made indirectly, yes, unconsciously, without recognition as to source by those against whom they are directed. It is even a graver matter that unconsciousness on the part of many must be urged as a defense for their appearance. A nation careless of justice and unconscious of insidious approaches upon the rights of the people has fallen indifferent of a most vital cause for watchfulness. If all knew the full import of these advances, if the advances were recognized and carefully measured, honest men would know how to act. The progress of encroachments may be measured by comparison of workers' condition in the present with the condition of the moneyed class. Let it be kept in mind that labor alone produces. Then go back in the history of our national life a period of fifty years. Extremes then were not common nor glaring. Go back a hundred years and with the exception of privileges gained from monarchical forms, or in a few cases where wealth representatives as money, jewelry, and the like, were brought from Europe, there was no wealth class distinct from the

work class. There were fanciful distinctions such as are claimed by family superiority, but material conditions varied not greatly only in exceptional cases. Now let the apologist account for the differences that appear to-day. Let him in his account keep strict hold of the fact that wealth as the word applies to goods used by man has never been created by any power but that of labor. He will tell you in his accounting for wealth possessions like those of Croesus that it is due to the superior business sagacity of individuals. His summing will practically be: Since Gould sold mouse traps as a boy, therefore sell mouse traps, you boys by the millions in this land, that you may every one of you become millionaires. He will not take into explicit account the steps of monopolization and legislative specialization by which Gould made millions in railroad ventures. Not at all; his recipe for the multiplication of the Gould type is mouse-trap peddling, just as he has said Grant tanned hides and became a great general, leading many thousands of soldiers, therefore tan hides, you millions of American boys, and lead thousands of soldiers; as he has said Lincoln split logs and became President, freeing the negroes, therefore split logs, you millions of boys in our land, so you may become President and free the negroes.

Because we have not permitted the producers of wealth to control wealth we have developed a wealth class. Those who were granted privileges by monarchs held them or handed them down to their heirs, who held them or sold them to others so that the privilege as a personal matter continued. These privilege holders secured other privileges; other persons came in and secured other privileges through numerous devices. To-day we have land monopolization, railroad corporations, chartered companies for various purposes and a list of trusts which it would be wearisome to recite. And still the advice is,

sell mouse traps you boys that have an ambition to be millionaires; if you are without ambition to be such do not sell them. Go to school now and when you are a man you may be fortunate enough to get a position on a railroad owned by the mouse-trap peddler; then you will draw the wages of a section hand, all your talents are worth,—from seventy-five cents to a dollar and a half a day.

The skill and progress of the race are wrested from their rightful courses to be made aids to the bondage of workers. Our method of discrimination places wage laborers, small businesses and the agricultural class under tribute to monopoly and capital. Monopoly and capital are exempt from any weight of taxation, as they dictate the tax system whereby revenue for government uses shall be created. By indirect taxation in various forms, by discriminative financial laws, by monopolization is oppressed the hireling in his wages and all the less favored of whom it may be said that by the sweat of their brows do they earn bread.

Indirect taxation by way of tariffs is expensive to the people who must use the goods taxed. In protective features they are discriminative or they would not be asked for by those protected, but for this they would defeat the very ends for which they strive. They are beneficial to a class, or that class would not clamor for them. That one industrial class alone demands a special tax is sufficient to warrant rejection for one that does not exempt this class will not be asked. Taxations to promote the interests of a class or classes are detrimental to the masses in the degree to which the class is benefited. It cannot be otherwise. Of the actual wealth increase the percentage of the tax will represent the per cent. advantage of the favored class. A tax on exchange is unwise and all tariff taxes are such, even when they do not add

the outrageous protective feature. The most beneficial system is the one that restricts as little as possible the even distribution of wealth. This ultimately promotes the equal interests of all classes and works to the establishment of a prosperous national commonwealth. But special tax beneficiaries do not look to ultimates. Their thought is for and of the present. All indirect taxes are dangerous, being subject to unlawful manipulations from influences wishing to shift burdens to other forms of industry. They are rendered more easily discriminative than a direct tax, for they are subject to befoggings and jugglings by those who prosper by them and by those who make merchandise of matters political.

Under our prevailing form, that of taxing labor products, taxing wealth, an income tax is the most logical of taxes. If we are to levy taxes on production the man who possesses wealth forms and securities representing a million dollars is the fittest subject of taxation in the land aside from the man who owns more than one million. So far as the matter of constitutionality may in absolute truth stand between the present taxpayer and this avenue of relief it is difficult to see,—by all but the men who own the wealth and the courts who will not let them be so taxed. How a difference warranting the setting aside of the more reasonable tax should appear between the legality of a form that calls on one man to pay a dollar into the treasury on an article that costs him five dollars, and another man to pay in addition to this tax a direct sum as his ability may empower him, is not plain. While we tax wealth possessions, taxes in proportion to ability should govern. Is not the one dollar a tax on the poor man's income? He may have an income of three hundred dollars a year, received from his employer for work done. This three hundred dollars is more than his income, it is his living, his only support. Out of his in-

come and his living, his support, he pays taxes on goods he or his family must have. He pays as much on the same article as a millionaire pays. The constitutionality of such taxes is less evident to the class of the three hundred dollar income than is a tax on incomes amounting to three thousand, to four thousand and over.

It is not wise to tax accumulations for taxes discourage the use of the thing taxed. Houses, carriages, books, pictures, are all valuable in the lives of men beyond the wealth they are or represent. Therefore, in essence, an income tax is not wise because it limits the ability to command desirable goods. It is of the same nature that taxes the three hundred class on the imported article. It is not just to those who would come under its provisions, but is nearest justice to taxpayers as a whole while wealth is taxed. It is the fairest method of taxing wealth, for proportionate sharing is fairer to all classes than is a tax on the necessities of labor. The wealth of the class who would come under a proper income regulation stands for the inequalities of distribution. That controlled by the largest holders represents one man's injustice to many, or, better, society's injustice to man. The means by which the wealth is amassed represents great injustice to the race. Where the means is natural it should be taxed; where man-created it should be abolished. Under the first comes land grasping; under the second legislative favoritism and industries whose natures change by the congregation of humanity from competitive to monopolistic; those of the last nature should not be abolished but seized by society and appropriated to the common good.

It may be objected that since taxing wealth is known to discourage its accumulation, taxing wealth resources would discourage the use of these resources. The foolishness of such an objection to the land tax scarcely needs pointing out. If a certain resource be taxed one dollar

while yielding three, the man who develops it will receive two dollar wages. If he finds he can double his labor will the prospect of doubling his tax deter him from doubling the resources he uses? While he doubles his labor and his tax he will double his wages, so that as he once paid one dollar and kept two he now pays two dollars and keeps four. Such taxation is not discouraging, for the thing taxed is by its proper development the source of wealth to the user. To-day labor pays to the land powers as great a tax and bears the all but complete burden of government aside from this. Under the land tax if a man doubled his resources he must double his production or lose in the transaction. If he doubled his resources his tax would be two; if he did not double his production his yield would be three, which would leave him one as wages. This result would cause him to leave one-half of his resources unclaimed that another man might use, for the smallest possible claim upon which he could exercise his productive powers in the fullest would yield him the highest wages and he would not put wages into land which would be a source of expense and not profit to him. The increasing value of his possession would tend to increase the taxes on it, but not in the full proportion of productiveness, for the needs of government would not increase in this proportion, and as it is not the business of governments to keep subjects stripped of all but a bare living, the demand in taxes would grow to meet the demands for public works, keeping up to the limit that would discourage landholding in degrees that result in effect to monopolization. When he doubles his control of resources he shuts out some other man who would use the half and pay the tax. Therefore a double tax is a just condition to his doubled possession.

We have adopted the unwisdom of taxation and exercise the unwise feature in this unwisdom. To heap

up taxes on labor until burdens crush, to refuse steadily all schemes that promise an equalization as much as is possible while adhering to our wedded unwisdom marks the dictation of plutocracy. Land rates and service rates by private holders of franchises are the two most powerful weights on producers. There is relief, even cleaving to our unwisdom. Taxation of franchises is one part. They represent advantages that make them peculiarly fitted for taxation until such a time as we shall have repudiated all unwisdom and seize the control they now exercise. Inheritance taxes are another way of part relief to direct production,—a way in taxing far juster than our practiced one. Wealth forms and representatives passed from generation to generation may, with all fairness to those who cease to use them and to those who had no part in their production, be made a source of revenue to the government. Such do not usually represent thrift and industry and no more. They represent, in important cases, opportunities and the injury of society. Estates of a given value should be taxed as well as incomes of stated amounts until such a time as we may go to a better taxing system.

Diversified objects of taxation are subject to misapplications and abuses. They also by their multiplicity increase the expenses of the taxing machinery. The tax on the people now to satisfy the expenses of the system is not a most despicable sum. Any unnecessary expense in government is a large expense. One small force of tax appraising and collecting officials could run this department if the basis of taxation was equitable and unwavering.

When we weigh the importance of the tools against the necessities of the man many suggestions of change crowd for consideration and the substitution of right for wrong becomes inevitable. The tools are abundant and the best

God ever placed before man. We have divided them as may be seen.

No man can by nutritive processes replace the blood a single vampire can draw from him in an uninterrupted drain. How much less can he fortify himself in this way against a whole brood. Yet we expect as much and cry Spendthrift, Improvident, because our expectations of a prosperous commonalty are not realized, and Ingrate, when the victim writhes in his efforts to free himself; if he dares hope with audible expression for something better we reach the acme of reproaches and say Dreamer.

Manufactured goods, foods, all products of industry, have a tendency to decrease in price with the growth in population. This decrease is unavoidable if the money volume does not increase. Goods measured against goods, prices will not vary under normal conditions. Many hands make more goods, and as each pair of hands produce more than the owner consumes the surplus goes into the markets and there competes with the products of other hands. Workers forced from the most productive fields by high rents and speculations do not produce and the industrial balance is disturbed; money is withdrawn and some industries produce a seeming excess and we grow to have what has been named an over-production. Illustrating by any two industries as types of the entire industrial mechanism, so: One hundred men are engaged in wheat growing, another hundred in shoe manufacturing. The farmers and factory hands consume each others' goods by a series of exchanges. That is, the farmers sell wheat and with the money thus obtained buy themselves and families shoes. The factory men by wages obtained for work buy flour for themselves and families. This is the exchange process in natural business seasons. But the shoe manufacturer enters a combination which agrees

to limit the shoe output. Times are dull or a trust is formed by shoe men. To effect this end he agrees to suspend work for a certain season. This throws his workers into idleness when wages are not paid. They cannot get employment in other shoe factories, for each manufacturer has his full force. They cannot set up a manufactory, for their wages have just secured them a living. Other industries are crowded so they cannot find work outside their chosen trade. The one hundred farmers by reason of the decreased ability of the one hundred shoe hands will find the price of wheat declining. The shoe men will live, but some by charity, some by the proceeds of catch work. Charity does not set a full table and occasional work in the interval between engagements provides as little. The price of wheat must fall under such circumstances. The farmers who take their wheat from the market of the shoe hands and seek to enter it in other markets find similar conditions prevailing there.

The humane wisdom of the race has ever engaged the question and sought to, by one method or another, secure to the laborer his hire. All the causes that go to decrease product values increase land values. Products increase in volume on increase of population and the increase by reason of unfair distribution decreases values. Land area does not increase, but its availability is influenced by the system of control practiced. Decrease in availability or increase in demand increases its value. Being essential to life and progress the question of land use is the one that in solution determines the condition of the people.

The availability of land alone concerns labor. More than one-half the richest land of earth is uncultivated and people are dying everywhere for food that the speculator may grow rich and because development must wait on the pleasure of holders, and in some parts because development cannot precede capital. In the waiting that must

ensue before unappropriated lands are rendered available by the spread of civilization the land speculator will have an abundant time in which to secure that also and annex it to his claims that are now waiting for the overflow, the shifting seat of population. While development of new regions is waiting on the action of private capital, the land speculator precedes settlement and his claim forestalls that of the user. His harvest he is already preparing, to abundantly ripen when the time falls due. He reaps from man's necessities.

While judgment for our mistakes goes before us, it also is present with us. To-day and to-morrow the works of private land control are the same, but the intensity of its evils grows. If the landholder chooses to reserve land from use and to be at no expense to improve it for the benefit of society, our laws grant him the power to do so at a very little cost, at no cost in places. The same authority makes it possible for him to collect robber prices for its use when increase in population and needs press so upon the limitations of land that his demands must be met. Our laws encourage the landholder to keep back this possession until the pressure becomes so strong that he can compel large rents, permits him to increase rents with the increasing needs of the race. This we do by lightly taxing unimproved lands and making the permission of holders the sole condition of occupancy.

Land held in unimproved condition, unoccupied when the need for land is great is an injury to society, and our laws are radically wrong in making taxes on it so light that holders are encouraged to withhold it, looking to a rise in rents that will enable them with greater profit to open it to use. Our system unjustly combines land values and improvement values and the man who pays rent to private holders must bear both burdens. The more expense that is put upon land in reasonable amount the more

it is fitted for use, and in all cases where the nature of the improvement does not affect the commercial, the productive value of the land, the user of the land should not be assessed for the evidences of his thrift. Thus we tax, first the land, a necessity to life, then the improved state of land, the separable improvements, representing wealth, human effort, usefulness, desirability, in the degree to which the improvements beautify earth and bless society. If this land is rented, society, in the person of the renter in increased rents satisfies the additional assessments upon the title-holder. Aside from these features of rent, the title-holder taxes the renter on values not so created, but which the renter, his family and all other families create. This increased tax because of increased social values does not go to the creators, but to the title-holder. In a system of private land ownership the unused portions should be highly taxed against the holder to the end that speculation and trading on the needs of society might be destroyed.

A better view of injustice practiced in taxing land improvements, that is, separable improvements, may be obtained by a consideration of degrees in improvement. If two men own adjoining lots in the heart of a city, great inequalities may appear in the demands society makes upon them. As long as the lots are kept vacant, desirability being equal, the expense of holding the two lots is the same to each man. Then, if the owners decide to build their tax rate parts company, unless they erect improvements valued alike. One puts up a building that will be devoted to increasing the sum of those products that are helpful and civilizing in their effects upon the people. A hundred men find employment, homes are thereby made more prosperous, trade increased, money circulated. The usefulness and beauty of the place are immeasurably advanced by the building that costs many thousand dollars,

representing labor, wealth and the ingenuity of hundreds of people. The improvements on the original state of the land are good in all the diverse talents represented. For the magnified usefulness, its contribution to the sum of human happiness, for the change that works blessings to society, the tax on the entire property is increased many times over what it was when the land lay idle and no one was benefited by its existence. This added tax discourages land use to the degree it encroaches upon profits. It gives rise to speculative ambitions impossible of existence should a tax great enough to discourage its holding be laid upon idle land held by private claimants.

Then on the adjoining lot the owner determines to build. His building may cost as many hundred as his neighbor's cost thousand dollars; here he conducts a business hurtful to society, a structure unsightly to man and God. Before the eyes of all he flaunts his unholy wares, sapping the energy and brain of youth, crushing the strength of manhood, preying upon virtue. Or he may build a cheaply constructed sky-scraping tenement where humanity congregates like rabbits in a hutch; from this he receives a percentage of profits much greater than his neighbor whose property is devoted to the satisfaction of the demands of intelligent and virtuous society. In the case of the dive the owner may pay, aside from a tax on his property, blood money to the municipality for the privilege of injuring all who come within the influence of his place. In all but such exceptional cases the two men find the expense of government for the conducting of business a most unfair division. Dollar for dollar of improvements they are taxed by a stubborn system that measures cubes and spheres by the same unyielding yardstick.

Looking at the items of taxation it is plain that the the burden falls to labor. In fact, statistics have been

worked out to prove that the worker pays the taxes. Such demonstration is needless. In import taxes the necessities of workers run over one hundred per cent., the luxuries of wealth ten per cent. and less. In import taxes then it may be seen that the worker bears a disproportionate share. In real property commercial rent covers all government demands against landholders. These two we make the principals in the taxation basis. Both are designed to prevent the rise of the worker. So we make this unavoidable expense to rest upon human effort, human ingenuity. The extremely wealthy avoid the taxes, the poor and middle classes coming in for their share, their more than share. It will always be so while production is taxed.

Land, a staple, always in demand, with a value regulated by the calls for it, all must have. What more reasonable basis for taxation can be asked, what other source of revenue can be needed since land is the source of all wealth? The fairness of the proposition should not be swallowed up in any charge of impossibility. To a mind erased of impressions made by habit, taxing the source looks much more practicable than taxing the result, taxing the tools much more reasonable than taxing the products of the tools. Good or bad use of opportunities is the choice of the holder, but the holding deprives some other of the opportunity. There is no form of taxation so free from indirection and jugglery. A hundred thousand acres are not to be worn around the neck at a charity ball and put into a cabinet for secrecy when the assessor rings; a metropolitan lot is not to be written on paper that calls for so much interest per year from the man who produces or builds him a home. The great tract and the lot stand for no injustice, hypocrisy. There they are, smiling, rejoicing in their locked-up possibilities, inviting any or all who need their treasures to come and satisfy their desires. If

their possession as wealth possibilities becomes too expensive trinkets under the operation of a land tax, the holders, to save themselves would be compelled to open them up to the productive forces that are idly waiting on just that. If they use their land it will be more economical for them to pay rent to government for it than to pay taxes on land, machinery, buildings and all facilities for production that make the land additionally valuable to them. The value of the land to other men is measured by their needs for land. As their needs increase they will bid more for the use of land. This is the law of economic rent. It would also be the law governing rent devoted to government.

A tax system making it unprofitable business to hold land from use, or that would make it impossible for individuals to draw rent from others, and that would destroy and forever prevent monopolization can be arrived at by collecting the entire tax for government from land, government appropriating the unearned increment of all lands. Land held but not used would be a detriment, a dead expense to the holder. The first effect of the new order would be to throw open to actual users much valuable land that is needed and now held back. The second effect, growing out of the first, would be to equalize conditions to the degree of individual worth. Two desirable results, the first of which is just, the second honest, and both conforming to the demands of right and reason.

Taxing wealth forms inevitably results in oppressing wealth creators; land ownership by private powers has helped in that process. Population increasing, the necessary taxes for governmental purposes grow, and with every added soul advance rent rates. The increase in numbers has operated to injure the worker along both lines of growth. The increase of taxes, the increase of rents, he must meet. If the increase of rent

incident to increase of numbers should be made to cancel the increase in taxes for government uses there would be a clear saving to wealth creators in the fullness of the latter expense. The demand for land will increase with population increase under any tax scheme. We have preferred in the past to take the expenses for government from the worker while allowing the landholder to take more and more of his wealth as rent. The increased value of land caused by increased demands for it, growing with population, is naturally fitted to meet the increase of government expenses. Population would spread in healthful expansion. Land now barren of revenue to government would yield its increase to collective man and individual man. He who used land would be taxed on the value of the land he occupied, not for the benefit of private holders, but for government, society, because of the opportunities of wealth production he would enjoy to the exclusion of all others. He would then be left free to make the best of his opportunities, unhampered by assessments on the results of his efforts.

CHAPTER V.

MONEY SUPPLY AND WAGES.

All values are comparative and represent the demand of one commodity measured by others or by some medium that is used to act as a standard in exchange or estimates. The power of the standard cannot be fixed or absolute because the quantity of the medium so used will vary its power as a unit or a whole the same as will the quantity of commodities to be measured give them as a whole or a part great or less exchange value. In a community where half the people raise wheat and half make clothing one coat will at a season of fair wheat yield exchange for five bushels of wheat. When the yield falls off next year to one half, one coat will exchange for two and one-half bushels if there is no other bread product to be had cheaper than this. In a phenomenally good season the price of wheat will go below the normal and one coat will command six, eight, perhaps ten bushels. So it cannot be said that coats have a fixed exchange value. The utility of the coat is not affected by the demand power of purchasers, but its cost is, its value in exchange is. When harvests are opulent, the coat makers can demand more wheat for a coat than in normal or poor seasons, and because the wheat producer must have a coat he will give more from his abundance. In poor seasons the coat makers cannot demand so much because the wheat raisers cannot give so much. If the output of coats remains the same each year or increases in proportion to increase of wheat production the operation of trade between the two industries would not vary from what has been suggested.

Now, if in place of a coat we change the figure of measurement to a dollar, we will have the exchange function of money. Then it will be seen that the value of money in exchange cannot be fixed as an unalterable measure unless in seasons of great production the volume be increased to correspond and in seasons of limited production the volume be contracted to correspond to the decrease. This, considering the diverse forms of production, the demand for money in different stages of production, cannot be done. With the varying demands for money in exchange a dollar would remain a dollar just as in the alternating seasons of wheat yield a coat was still a coat. But as the power of the coat to command wheat fluctuated with the quantities of wheat produced in different seasons, so does the exchange value of the dollar vary with the rise or fall of volume in commodities and uses to which it is put. It cannot, therefore, have a fixed value. It may be expressed in so many grains gold, so many grains silver, it may be stamped on the two sides of a paper of determined size. If so, a dollar will always represent a certain amount of a certain metal, a certain number of square inches of paper, just as the coat of a given style represents a given number of square yards of cloth. As the value of the coat consuming so much cloth depends upon the yield of wheat so the dollar whether in metal or paper will vary in power by the amount of uses to which it is devoted.

But, it is said, paper is not money. It is true paper is not money; it is also true that neither gold nor silver bullion is money; it is true that gold and silver in virgin dust are not money. They are commodities which in the markets of the world have a certain exchange power. Paper is a commodity with like power in a less degree. Then the government hand is put to the three commodities. Of the gold a given number of grains are made into a flat, round

piece, of the silver a prescribed number of grains are flattened and rounded, of the paper a strip is cut, so many inches long, so many inches wide. The three commodities have changed form but are commodities still. No one of them is money but the gold and silver will in the world's markets buy an equal amount of goods; the paper is nearly valueless in exchange. Then the government puts the seal of the dollar on the gold disc, on the silver disc, on the paper slip. Their value in exchange is now equal. All are now money in every sense in which the word is applicable. The money office is, then, the creation of government. In the case of metals being used to express the money function the commodity itself has a varying exchange power, and men say it is good money because the commodity is exchangeable. In the case of paper money the government fiat is expressed upon a paper slip and because the people are mistrustful of their own integrity these papers are sometimes made to carry a promise that makes them redeemable in metal. Metals are taken as redemption money, not because they exercise the money office above that exercised by paper, but because they are commodities that possess exchange power in a convenient form. Paper money issued upon the security of national wealth would be as stable as that issued upon gold and silver. A solvent government in which the people participate would not find it necessary to secure its notes; common wealth, as land, goods that the government's promise would command as security if security be required, would give as staple a basis as gold and silver. More staple for money supplies could not then be manipulated. In business life along private paths a creditor accepts a debtor's note without security if that debtor possesses in attachable wealth the amount of the note. It would be so in government notes. Those who urge that unsecured promises are not money mean to say that they are notes issued upon no

security but that of government stability and integrity,—which beware. The money office is expressed by such but exchangeable commodities as security are not promised; when the function of money in the way of government notes is denied we repudiate all money and go to a barter system. If government owned and held all lands there would exist a tangible wealth reserve upon which to issue money that would release gold and silver from the office of redemption. The assets of the government institution would then exceed the liabilities and money panics would be avoided. Issued so, money could not be controlled by private financiers. Issued so, the promise of government with the unlimited resources back of the maker, the government note would be as good as the note of a railroad manager who has tangible wealth subject to seizure if the note is unredeemed when the holder makes that demand. If needed, gold and silver could still be used as the discretion of the people demanded them for money, but relieving them from the office of redemption. This would give abundant money basis and no plea for restricting the money volume on the grounds of insecurity could be made.

All values are determined by associating in the mind different objects and the ratio of desirability establishes the relative value of those objects. A precious stone, a metal, has no native value, but each may be desired and if so will come to have an exchange value or power. Iron is valuable to the civilized man but is not to the savage who knows not its uses. So all articles possessing virtue or the elements of utility will come to have a commercial value as men learn to desire them. One so-called precious stone embracing the qualities of hardness, color and brightness would be as valuable as another embracing the same or like qualities but for certain sentiments that have placed in the estimate of trade a value or superior value to the sought for article. There is no value attaching but

that created by demand, and as in the food market price is regulated by the supply available and the demand made on that supply, regardless of the agencies that may be back of and influence these price regulators. The aboriginal taste uncorrupted by civilized associations readily seeks an exchange that will dispossess the owner of metals and gems for gauds which in the catalogs of enlightened trade are next to worthless. The aborigine is happier for the exchange and is a man of more prominence in his neighborhood for the bargain he has consummated and his partner to the exchange grows rich by the gains accruing to him in civilized markets over the cost of the goods he traded for the trinkets of the savage. He is a man of greater prominence in his world because of the profits to him created by the demand for articles he secured by exchanging so little wealth as his world esteems wealth. Standards of value vary in the two communities and each man finds himself at an advantage by the trade, governed as their interests are by the demands of their respective empires.

Intrinsic value, or value that inheres in the thing said to possess it, is not in recognition subject to place or people. Intrinsic or inherent value can be said to attach to the forces of physical life supplies. There can be but two values, commercial and intrinsic. Commercial is that which by buying and selling enriches everyone through whose hand the article passes, which article if destroyed or consumed in exchange can be duplicated, if not in exact kind, in fair substitute. Intrinsic is that which has no substitute, no duplicate, and that which possesses intrinsic value is valuable to all people. Commercial values are local, intrinsic, universal. That which possesses commercial value depends for that value on the educated desires of consumers. That which possesses intrinsic value in itself sustains and produces; sustains life and produces

the thing having commercial value. This does not make food forms of intrinsic value for what is food in one region is not in another. Reptiles and insects do not possess a universal food value but in some localities they command the price of food. But the ground upon which they crawl and which furnishes them sustenance has intrinsic value for the savage must have it for the hunting place of his food forms, the civilized man must have it for the cultivation of food forms. Food then is not of intrinsic value, being subject in form and diversity to the educated desires. The land from which food is to be had is of intrinsic value because it is the base of all relative values. In a situation where only one form of food could be had, that food may be said to have intrinsic value because it is indispensable. Intrinsic values are those which lie within, extrinsic those without, or commercial, and the situation which makes one form of food imperative places it among intrinsic values until a way is opened up for other forms. When food grows to have intrinsic value its exchange value ceases for when possession of a food form is necessary to life men will not sell it. Land we have made to have a commercial value in addition to its intrinsic value but that does not argue the rightfulness of so doing. Men, and whole nations have placed commercial values, or, it is fairer to say, prices on the intrinsic virtues, for men have bought and sold political rights, nations have bought and sold freedom. Because this has been done we do not think of quoting votes in market reports or putting up bulletins to show fluctuations in the prices of foreign possessions when they become too strong to submit to the powers that seek to exercise an exhausted power over them. Rights and freedom we do not place a price upon; we would fain consider them above price.

The savage who traded pearls for glass beads, gold and silver ore for tinsel braid, would not sell his land for

either of these articles if heaped up mountain high when the trade should stipulate that he be turned adrift upon the ocean in a light canoe; he would not trade if he must give up the beautiful upland and live in a morass. He would recognize the intrinsic value of his land and commercial values would not tempt him. The pearl's value and the metal's value is purely commercial. If this value was intrinsic he would not part with either lightly; he would place a higher commercial value on it if it represented the most desirable to him. If their value is intrinsic mankind would have always known their true worth; it has been left to late generations to discover the so-called intrinsic value of these things. The commercial age sees with commercial eyes and because gold can buy a vote or a title to a brave people it is said to be of intrinsic value, to possess that value!

Demand weighed against supply fixes the commercial estimate of goods. Manufactured articles and natural forms are in exchange power valuable to their possessor to the extent the world prizes them. Desire for goods beyond desire for exchange destroys in possession the value of the article; while so held back it increases the commercial value of its kind in the markets of the world. Intrinsic values do not appreciate; they do not depreciate. The values that inhere in a thing itself can never change; if they could the thing would cease to be itself and become some other thing. Land and water are both essential to physical life, but a man given choice of ten acres water surface or ten acres land surface would take the latter if he must be confined to the one or the other. Water being a necessity to life has intrinsic value; land has intrinsic value for the same reason, and that value increased because land embraces all other forms of physical necessities. To make the water equally valuable with land, the water would have to come into possession of land

qualities, when it would cease to be water and become land. Water in a desert place may have commercial value, but that does not affect its intrinsic value. A pint of water bought for a hundred dollars has no more life-saving virtue than a pint dipped up in the heart of a verdant forest where the spring laughs up at the blue, rain-washed sky; where the bird, the deer, and all the happy denizens of the wood drink with man and pay no price but that included in thanks for nature's gifts. If intrinsic value could change, the water bought and sold on the scorching desert sands should possess many times the virtues of that dipped from the spring. To therefore argue that the thing which is scarce possesses values beyond one that is more plentiful when either can serve the same end is to confound quantity with virtue.

In no community of earth is there sought the thing which is nowhere and by no one demanded. The diamond is as valueless to one who has no personal vanity to appease as is the bit of broken glass which rivals it in brilliancy and colors. Such a one does not value it as highly as he does a day's labor. If the value of the diamond be intrinsic, the day laborer and the contented philosopher would seek it as earnestly as the devotee of fashion, the collector, the royal crown which represents more than the brow upon which it rests. To those who care not for it, it is as valueless as the brook pebble, yet a king's ransom has been paid for one the size of a girl's thimble. If there existed no demand for it there would be no price put upon it. Its clearness, hardness and sparkle would remain, but in the absence of demand there would be no price placed and paid for it.

Gold would be valued no more highly than iron if the quantity was as great and the use the same. It would still possess the physical properties of gold. But its

market value governed by the demand for and amount of available gold would place it on a commercial basis from the control of which all fictitious advantages would depart. Gold in the lives of men is less utile than iron and would command less in the markets but for certain sentiments in ornamentation and uses as an exchange medium that have created a commercial demand for it. Gold is precious in no sense but that of association and quantity; it is possessed of value only as it is weighed against the desirability of other possessions. For itself no one prizes it but the miser; none prize it but for the power its possession gives over other goods. Because of the many uses to which it is put it is much in demand. Being demanded greatly relative to its supply it has a high commercial value. Demands for it increasing and the quantity available for use remaining at an almost fixed volume, the price will constantly rise. The fact of its being so much sought as a means of art should exclude its use as a money basis. If the supply was adequate to the demand, increasing with increasing demand, this objection would be met.

Any metal to which has been fixed, in effect, a legislated value in addition to the trade value, would increase in total value or become as much harder to command as the increased value plus the trade value. If a metal in trade is three in value, and legislation calls for its use in certain lines never before known, and the increased demand equals three in value, the total value will be six. If a metal is worth three and the demand be doubled, the quantity remaining the same, the price will increase. This is the way in which the amount of grains devoted to liquor production helps maintain prices of grains as food. Grain used as food helps to increase its price to the manufacturers of liquor. If production should remain the same, the total devoted to either food or liquor

use would cheapen it to a point where its commercial value would nearly cease. The total grain demand measured against the total product would fix the price of grain. In the same way gold is valuable in our country and in the world. Aside from the purely commercial use of gold it is called upon to perform the almost entire money office. Money weighs against all other values. Money expressed in gold or based on gold must be limited in volume. Money being limited, the other side of exchange will have to be satisfied with less money, for money weighed against all other values must satisfy them. Prices will therefore fall under a destruction of part of the money volume, and they will decline as long as the money volume declines actually or relatively.

The enhanced demand for a metal used as an exchange medium will enhance its commercial value, and the price of other metals measured against it is lessened. In a phenomenal corn season if the wheat crop is very light the price of corn will be low, that of wheat high, measured by money or in direct exchange of the two grains. The food virtues of corn are not lessened, those of wheat are not advanced; it is the relative supply of the two available for consumption that varies the price from that ruling in ordinary seasons. If government found it advisable and possible to maintain a treasury reserve of seal skins from the Alaskan fisheries, if that reserve should be placed at one hundred million skins and we kept paying out seal skins to satisfy foreign obligations, the price of mink, beaver and other skins would, measured by the seal standard, very much depreciate in commercial value. Their protective powers and beauty would not be affected, nor would those of seal be enhanced. The only difference attaching to the former relations of seals to other furs is seen to be purely com-

mercial. Seal being so much demanded, the quantity of other skins that would be exchanged for a seal would double or treble. If government further issued bonds and permitted private parties to issue notes payable in seal skins these promises to redeem in seal skins would still further enhance their commercial value, because there would be more skins needed in reserve to enable the private parties to redeem their notes if presented. The seal skin would be "good" money for those who command it; it would buy many a day's work, many pairs of shoes; many other skins that once stood in the relation of one seal to sixteen other skins, one seal to twenty other, would then stand one seal to forty, to sixty, and so on. The change is brought about not by any increase in the virtues of seal skins, but by the demand on the limited number to be obtained. If government put a certain stamp to each skin, seal skins would be money as much as gold is now money. The possibilities of seal propagation would cause the destructibility of the skins to be no bar to their use, would even be a plea for their use, a plea as rational as that of indestructibility urged in favor of metals whose availability is limited. If banks should put out notes secured by the government on a seal skin reserve, we would have by this method money as "sound" as could be devised. The material upon which the money stamp would be placed would then as now be valuable in the markets; its demand in the discharge of money work added to its demand as clothing, the present price of seal skins would advance by reason of the new demand. The new and continued demand would tend toward a constant increase of prices in seal skins if the fisheries were properly regulated, and as all other skins would depreciate in relative price a most convincing argument could be constructed as to the soundness of seal skin money.

Values in all material things are merely relative. If two toolless men on an island, the fresh water supply of which was underground, should find two two-quart flasks, one empty, the other full of pure water, each man being equally strong, each like determined, each need the same, they would divide the water so each flask held the same and each man would keep a flask. Either man would less part with a swallow of his portion than if he had a double quantity. The limitations in supply put a valuation on the water they had not thought of before and neither man would sell his last swallow of the precious fluid for the ransom of a prince if no relief from the dangerous situation was promised. Gold and jewels are not valuable to men in their situation; it is for water they would exchange all they have. If the water on one shore of the island was salt and on the other side fresh, the fresh water would not be guarded in use any more than would be the salt. In fact, so far as water accommodations go, the two would be most happily situated. The fresh supply being devoted to drinking, cleansing and culinary purposes, from the other side of the island they would get their sea breezes, salt supplies, their bathing pleasures. Of a newcomer demand for remuneration for access to that part of the coast where salt waters lapped the sands would equal the demand made when desire for drink drove him to the shore where the thirst-slaking tide rippled up to meet the grass. The use being equal, the demand being equal, the price would be equal. One who could convert salt water into fresh, fresh water into salt, would be content on either side. To him no fictitious value would inhere in either flood. He would know to practical demonstration and benefit that all water possesses all elements to life so far as water is responsible.

Because of peculiar properties certain metals are used in manufacture, in work, in ornamentation. Because they are so used they have exchange value. They are valuable only in what we have credited as embracing value. So-called intrinsic value is a recognition of historic values in conjunction with present uses. Metals designated as precious and romantically invested with the misleading pretension of intrinsic values claim an importance in the life of the world far beyond their worth. They do not sustain life or make the possessor happier by mere fact of their possession. They make no people, no person, either great or good. In certain forms and by certain rules of custom they are eagerly demanded in exchange for food, clothing, all necessities and luxuries of life; toil and dangers are undergone to secure them, not for any native value they possess, but that their exchange will command all things that can be bought. Civilizing and developing countries find their most important use of certain metals as a medium of expressing money.

Money in operation is a means of facilitating exchange. Based upon a series of pretexts as to what constitutes money, it is a wonder of false conclusions originating from the false premise that money is a tangible entity when it is a work. Considered as a tangibility it is but bits of hard metal, stamped, or slips of paper inscribed with certain promises. By association the metal is invested with a fictitious value, its promises likewise, and the money superstition which confounds office with officer makes it the power that compels all other powers in the world of commerce. By the consent of the people, money, expressed upon either metals or paper, is a concrete representative of wealth.

Money, however expressed, in national treasuries and bank vaults, is not wealth. It does not to any practical

end represent wealth. It is idle and foolish miserliness, barren and mocking munificence on the part of a people maintaining a system of this nature. It is as valueless to the promotion of healthy enterprise, is as little indicative of universal prosperity as is the fictitious claim of national prosperity based on the extravagance of flashy millionairessdom. It invites not the confidence of the people and respect of commercial nations, it is the political trickster and jobber that are invited, drawn to it as the needle to the magnet. The value of money in the national life is determined by the degree to which it, by free circulation, empowers workers to share in the benefits they introduce.

To properly perform the work for which it is designed money must be sufficient in volume to move products freely, circulating readily to the extremes of commercial operations. This will keep alive exchange, for a full money supply cannot be readily drawn from the outer circles and manipulated by a financial center. A limited money volume insures a low wage rate, for limited quantity makes dear money, and the dearer any article is the more must be given in exchange for it, whether the thing exchanged be work or the product of work. Deficiency of money must ultimately house with the earners of wages; they give work for money, and money being hard to get they must labor more for the same amount or get less for a certain period of work.

Money in the hands of the people, in educational investments, in home improvements, in prosecution of enterprises, is practical wealth in capital form, and the good it secures blesses the nation. Money should not be rendered a device of governments for the benefit of the rich and the hurt of the workers. There is no office of government over which such absolute fairness to all classes should preside as in the issuing and control of

money. Discriminations in control and favoritism governing its circulation are fatal to any benefits the system may possess over mere barter, not only fatal to that, but introductive of many evils that can originate from no other source. While money is made the commercial blood of nations anything that hampers, restricts or congests its fullest, natural movement, demands the abolition of that part of the system open to perversions and subject to such undesirable results.

There is no greater wealth of nations, none so much to be desired as that wealth, the application of which to production, issues in larger, more useful lives, more enlightened understanding by the people. Aggregate wealth is the least certain test of national wealth. It is the relative wealth of the individual in comparison with the total of the commonwealth that declares the economic situation just or unjust. Wealth, concentrated in the control of a class, is an item of poverty in the accounts of a nation. If our wealth must consist of railroads, machines, and like toys of man's inventive skill; of stocks and bonds in the possession of private corporations, and there be lacking the evidences of wealth in the lives of the men who do the work and pay the bonds, we have but little wealth that makes an enduring state. Then, in comparison to the civilized worker, rent-pilaged, mulcted by law-licensed extortion and browbeaten by power-holding wage payers, is the Lap a Solomon in the possession of a single reindeer, and the aborigine a Cræsus in the possession of a boomerang, which brings down, as fate favors the opportunity, his four-footed or two-footed game. A nation is not wealthier than the average wealth of its members—average in actual condition, not average as a result of mathematical calculation.

While nations coin money as a medium of exchange and make it the item signifying commercial equations

the volume of money must increase in proportion to population or they who sell for money will be disadvantaged. In the markets where money buys all things, if money appreciates all things offered against money will depreciate. Cheap and dear are relative terms. If products may be said to be cheap, money is relatively dear; if products are dear, money is relatively cheap. Both money and products cannot be dear in a community at the same time. Both may be scarce, but the moment one is added to its relative power declines, the power of the other increases. So in any commercial state where the money volume is subject to the fact of contraction they who offer products and labor for money must either give more for the same money amount or receive less money for the same amount of products and labor. If the money volume does not increase in proportion to population, if demands increase beyond the increase in supply, the same results will follow as occur when actual reduction in volume is practiced where population and demands remain stationary.

A full money supply is to the equalization, in a degree, of the comparative wealth of the classes. A scant supply can be manipulated more readily by those who make a study of oppression; a full supply defeats this possibility. Because of its plenitude money is easily commanded; being abundant, workers will possess property advantages; the full supply makes its possession general. For these reasons it will not be controlled by any class. It is as much to the financial advantage of creditor and fixed salary classes to decrease the money quantity as is the limitation of certain products advantageous to trusts manipulating the products; it is as much to their strengthening in financial ways as is a famine in other cereal producing nations an advantage to our farmers, enabling them to sell grains at immense advantage over

consumers. As for all propositions looking to comparative reductions in the money supply, it must be remembered as a law immutable that those who must earn money must, when money is scarce, devote more time and effort to securing the dollar than when money is plentiful. This fact, in justice to the workers, should never be dropped from the consideration in all financial policies. Plenty of money makes money easily obtainable by all classes. Plenty of money makes plenty of products in the control of producers, for money commands products. It is true plentiful money will not command as much, unit for unit, as scarce money. Neither will plentiful shoes, pair for pair, command as great a price as scarce shoes. A dollar will not command as much with a per capita circulation of twenty as at a per capita circulation of ten. At a circulation of ten it will not command as much as at one of five, or two, or one. For the reason that the larger circulation is less powerful in the unit strength, is it to be preferred. Scarce dollars become sacred, retiring from the haunts of common men, seeking retreats in the coffers of the rich. Plentiful dollars go out to the attenuations of productive enterprise. Plentiful dollars are easily commanded, and dollars command all products. Money not only moves goods, but with nations relying on it, money produces goods. Money is paid out in wages, for machinery, for all operations of industry in the great body of people. Reaching out to the uttermost regions of exchange and employment it carries with it the goods of civilization. Withdrawing by contraction it deserts the outer circles, narrowing and ever narrowing in the limits of its free operations. They who are in the outer circle are restricted, pinched, reduced to the abasement of poverty. Money has deserted them, for those who gave them employment, those with whom they deal, have felt the

withdrawing movement and must give less for their services or the things they offer. Competition, with the zeal born of hunger, crowds out; competition, with the fear of ruin, shuts out. Money flees to its centres, wages go down, prices go down, businesses go down. The structure built on money topples, falls, shatters, as money fluctuates and retires.

Wages as dollars and cents or cents below the dollar line would cease to exist as wages if a system of reward making wages an approximate value of production should be introduced; equity would preside over all relations of production and distribution, for in such a scheme is left no opening to the spirit of ruinous combination and wage oppression. If our present financial scheme is not suited to this order it can be amended by abolition and our people will be happier for its removal and the substitution of a measurement that classifies men for what they are and not for what they have become possessed of. Money as a measure of values does not only measure visible commodities and effort—it measures the national worth. Production corresponds to the producer, and the producer, ultimately, to his pay. While we measure necessities, comforts, luxuries and education by money the moral tone of the people will be directly traceable to the wage rate in its universal bearing. The laborer can command no more of the beauties of living than his wages will measure for him and his life will reflect his surroundings.

As a nation we occupy a plane our previous wage rate made possible for us, made unavoidable. The Chinaman occupies the plane his national wage rate has made possible, unavoidable, for him. Our superiority in national character is due solely to the more just relations existing between Americans in industrial and political associa-

tions, our ancestors having lived under juster orders than the ancestors of the present-day Chinaman. If the American wage earner suffers himself to be forced on the wage basis to the level of his Oriental competitor he must also occupy, in time, a like social and intellectual sphere.

Restrictions in the money market, decrease in money supply, laws making possible money monopolization, attend the policy that makes nothing dear in commercial marts but money, nothing cheap but men and their work. The forces that work for an appreciating money standard tell us that faith is necessary to the success of a financial system. The claim condemns the claimants. Faith in a bit of shining metal is a precarious foundation for the success of a national policy. Faith in money issued upon the metal, faith in a private money source that has repeatedly betrayed the people is a faith that becomes babes. Ours is a faithless system in which none can have faith but those who despoil the people. The only foundation of faith that can be relied upon is faith in the powers issuing the money. The people have faith in one another, in the government, hence money issued on the integrity of the government has always been acceptable to the people. Money of this kind does not decline in power when balanced against products. It is only when balanced against metal, falsely considered money in itself, that we say it depreciates. Metal, traitor-like, deserts the people in time of greatest need, and because promises of the people when inscribed on paper must be increased to win it back we are asked to believe that metal is good money. No money system would be possible without the confidence of the people that they are able to perform all they promise. Money issued on gold collateral is no safer than money issued on shoe or corn collateral; it is only easier of manipu-

lation by money speculators. The money stamp placed on gold is no better money than when placed on silver or nickel, but the scarcity of gold limits the money volume when gold is accepted as a solitary standard, and limitation of volume is the root of the contention. In the contentions for single or double standard the war is not for or against any metal; it is for scarce money or for plentiful money. If gold should increase in volume until it acceptably performed the work of money the silver question would settle itself. It is not against gold, but for a volume of money adequate to the demands made upon it that a single standard policy is arraigned. It is not against silver that those who contend for "good" money speak. The essence of good money in their sense is found in scarce money, easily controlled money. As a marvelous increase in the world's gold output would silence the cry against the gold standard, a falling off in the silver yield to a point far below the gold yield would cause the single standard advocates to transfer their allegiance from gold to silver. For would not gold, measured by silver, decline, and as their criterion of soundness in money is purely a question of appreciation all the arguments now made for gold could by the substitution of the word silver do duty for its advocacy as a sole money basis. Would not our imaginations be tortured by pictures of national dishonor bought by cheap money? Would not our ears be frightened with the direful cry of national collapse to follow inflation? Would not we recoil from an inundation of cheap foreign gold? The essence of the matter is the amount of money we shall maintain, not what its basis shall be.

Money so dear that the people cannot command it is too high a monetary standard for a nation. A stubbornly fixed volume, a diminishing volume, is fatal to

the end for which money is created. To be of equal benefit to all it must be of an ever-increasing supply to keep pace with the growing demands for it even as all other articles of demand must increase with demand, or the people suffer for the lack. With the goods measured by money there are, in almost every branch, substitutes. For money there is no substitute. Money has destroyed the barter system, and when money is scarce, when it retreats to its hiding place, business halts, remains inactive until money comes back. Increasing demands for money follow not more the increase in numbers than by growth of commercial diversities and expansions. Prices of commodities growing in volume with the growth of population cannot be maintained except by a corresponding increase in the currency volume. Of the total sum that men can devote to flour buying they will, under stress, decrease somewhat and put the money not devoted to flour to other uses. The minimum of money they can put to flour buying must measure the farmer's wheat; the money deficiency will therefore injure both classes, farmers and the consumers of wheat. With a vast majority of the latter class the money stress was announced in a reduction of wages, reduction in prices. With farmers it is called a price reduction. This form of action spreads throughout the commercial commonwealth and prices universal, in the measurement of a shrinking money volume, fall. Prices represent the prosperity of producers, and they rise or fall by the same causes and in unison with wages. Prices, then, must be maintained if we keep up our high standard of national character, for prices are but wages in another use. Nations are such as the individuals of which they are composed, and nothing tells so much on national character as the manner of clothing, feeding, housing, educating of its units; all these items to life

must come within the limit of compensation in any field. Limited money supply limits all these. More than a quarter century in a policy which adheres to the depreciating movement inaugurated at its adoption convinces of its inefficiency—argues the viciousness of a plan which systematically and perseveringly increases the inequalities it attaches to the producing classes.

CHAPTER VI.

CONSTITUTIONAL.

The ideas of the fathers were as broad as the times permitted, their scheme as broad as the times sanctioned. The plans they formulated will be found broad enough for all time if their successors keep the spirit and perception of the early builders. This spirit has not been preserved and their perception of truth in government has been dwarfed and distorted. Misconstructions entered into and carried out by the enemies of free government work to the end that freedom may be displaced by shackles, democracy by plutocracy. Such at least is the indictment, in substance, brought against latter-day interpretations and tendencies. Those who believe in the truth of the charges do not hesitate to assail the constitution as the bulwark behind which the enemies of free government fortify themselves. It is certainly not beyond the support of conservative judgment to say that the weight of decisions in matters constitutional go to verify the charges when the actions of recent years are alone considered. This seeming apparent, the question that follows is as to the cause and responsibility for the wrongs, whether they result from the faults of the fundamental law or from the faulty construction of that law. Perhaps the liberality of the law is in part responsible for the abuses practiced in its name. Perhaps failure on the part of the people to exercise their annulling and prohibitive power forwards and augments the evils. Without this breadth, which has been abused, a free republic would not have been the

form of government following the memorable Act of July 4, 1776.

The criticisms heaped upon our charter by those who perceive existing injustices should in strict fairness be confined to its distortions and misconstructions. The provisions made in the original never claimed finality. Under the given outline is the order of improvement and change as the needs occasioned by changing conditions may dictate. Our charter is our servant. The people cannot create a power for their control greater than themselves, stronger than the strength of their rights. How much less could a few millions people living more than a century ago institute an arbitrary power over the lives of seventy-five millions living to-day. This fixity the fathers did not claim for the basic provisions of our government. The blunder we commit is a sickly and enervating over-reverence. When the constitution comes to be regarded as unyielding, its primal provisions not subject to modifications, it is we that err. The founders of American institutions lived too near monarchy to found a complete democracy; the people of that day were too recently subject to forms of oppression to be able to grasp in fullness the liberties of democracy. The restrictions they had been made to conform to did not teach them to try to establish a like arbitrary power for the control of future generations.

Not that our charter could be broader and better, but how its provisions may be adhered to and how may be preserved the scope of personal liberty in the realms of political and social activities aimed at by its provisions, is the consideration for the earnest student and admirer of American institutions. How to widen the range of these liberties and direct them into the channels best

sued to the demands of progress must also be their theme.

That we have drifted from a close adherence to the spirit of early construction and administration of constitutional provisions is plain. The preamble to the constitution declares one of the objects of the latter's operations is to establish justice. This furnishes the text from which are made arguments as to the failure of the constitution. The drifting away from the ideas of the fathers has progressed to a point many believe to be an absolute incompetency of these ideas. Having drifted, how we are to get back concerns all.

In a form of government in which the sole power is derived from the people governed, the assumption of power by officials to whom has not been delegated power in the point at question is contrary to the terms upon which officials are chosen. Officials under such terms have no personal choice to gratify. It is their business to act as instructed by their constituency. The concentration of the exercise of power in the combination and coalition of officials to pervert legislative, judicial and administrative power, or to desecrate these powers by the adoption, construction and enforcement of laws contrary to constitutional provision and spirit, demands close watch by the minute-men of constitutional liberty. There have been all these errors in our law operating force in the recent past. Congresses and executives elected for specific purposes have prostituted their official powers to defeat the will of the people and for the furtherance of clique schemes inimical to the good of the people and subservient to class interests. Judicial renderings on measures fitted to give partial relief to the burdens, bearing Atlas-like on the shoulders of labor, have said to the revenue creating power, You shall raise revenue in one way only—that by oppressive

tax measures that wring from the middle classes and the poor a large percentage of the wages they find it so hard a matter to command. Legislative bodies, executive and judiciary have singly or in combination injured the people they act for and whom they are supposed to serve and represent, not in a single instance only. In repeated combinations, in part or alone, have these ends been wrought. So the word has been sent out that the constitution is a failure; that the people have been betrayed by the powers they have created and in whom they trust. An absolute monarch cannot betray the people over whom he holds sway. He may butcher, starve, insult, but so long as they delegate to him full power over their lives and liberty, claiming for themselves no part in the control of these and failing to demand or seize and exercise a share in the government of their lives, all are the despot's to do with as it pleases him. But when an elective people elevate to office a body of men to perform an expressed desire in certain proposed remedies for public ills, and this body fails to do the work they were selected and salaried to do, let the failure be either neglect or substitution of other plans, then the people who elected them for a purpose are betrayed. The failure of any congress to carry into action the promises or to bring about the laws demanded and pledged by the platforms on which members stood and were judged by the constituencies electing them, is treason to the people electing them if a majority of the members were elected on these assurances. It is perjury of their word to those for whom they were asked to act in official capacity.

The failure of an executive officer to square his actions and recommendations to the platform principles that secured his election is Arnoldism from which we have suffered much of late. Officers are not elected in

representative governments to perform their own wills, but the will of the people whose servants they are, or are supposed to be. No plea of expediency should be permitted to defeat this. Private opinions on the part of such officials must give place in act to conformity to ante-election pledges. The public are not judges of a candidate's private views if he entertains opinions contrary to his party declaration of faith. They choose by his profession of principles. By our present bungling method of electing presidents, a minority of the people can and frequently do fill this office with their representative. This is one of the absurdities which our persistent adherence to early forms continues to tolerate despite the abuses it permits. The citizen thus singled out for an arduous and erstwhile patriotic task should recommend and further the passage of those laws he has pledged himself to secure. He must not, if representative government continues, advocate a principal with a secondary and upon election urge and secure the secondary to the postponement and neglect of the principal, and anything but what we look for him to accomplish. This has been too much the way with late presidents. In this way we have been playing a game of haphazard that has issued in determinate conditions that call for thanksgivings if the executive head of the nation does not do the exact opposite of what he was elected to do. There has been no class in American political activities as greatly surprised by these acrobatic tendencies of presidents as the parties responsible for the election of the acrobat. Pledges amount to nothing. We would be as secure as to the outcome if any sort of nondescript man should be picked up and made president, as official action in this capacity seems to go by the law of contrariety, and just how much this law will operate events only can determine. The chief executive who follows

his own will when opposed to the promises he gave previous to his election exercises the prerogative of an hereditary monarch in all its unhappiest features.

Judicial renderings vitiating the fundamental propositions of our basis of government have grown to a degree of seriousness that must soon call for an accounting if continued. The property clauses interpreted in a way to beggar the majority in the economic interests of the minority cannot perpetuate their own decisions as precedents for an honorable construction. These decisions, while not transgressing the language of constitutional provisions, so flagrantly outrage all fair conceptions of the spirit of property rights and equality that a direct refutation of rights and equality before the law in these matters would be scarcely more out of keeping with the thought of the people. Perhaps the most unexpected perversion of constitutional integrity is to be found in this unfriendly attitude of the judiciary toward the enactments that have a tendency to equalize burdens and the efforts of this same law-interpreting force to promote the graspings of the moneyed classes. Its assumption in law enforcement where the extension of authority by the classes must be reinforced by the arm of the law, whose only strength is derived from the people it essays to crush, is another striking evidence that the true use of the courts is being violated. In no other one of the departments of our government does a venality of prostituted trusts show so glaringly forth as in the judicial branch, the branch of all others that should be safeguarded from corrupt influences. If the laws, primal and special, be turned to the crippling of the masses, dark indeed is the outlook. In an apparent race to outvie each other the minor courts have followed pantingly in the pace set by the supreme department that classed as unconstitutional a tax provision that would have re-

quired of all to bear in proportion to ability their share in the expenses of government. This decision left, in effect, the entire burden of taxation to be carried by labor. Tentative and even aggressive trespasses on the common rights of the people are thus being made. These are the beginnings whose end is not in sight while the tendencies they indicate are unchecked.

The appointive power in judgeships is too circuitous to conform to the spirit of free institutions. There is a lively sympathy with the people who elect them on the part of officials elected by direct vote. This sympathy is entirely absent from the conduct of officials whose tenure of office is not dependent upon the approval of the voters. A direct vote on all officers connected with the judiciary would keep the courts in touch with the people. It would likewise exercise a wholesome restraining influence over all acts bearing on the relative power of classes and masses and undoubtedly keep the system freer from the corrupting influences of place power than we now know. There are those who argue, with much reason, for the abolition of the judiciary in the capacity we now experience. It seems certain that with the fullest expression of popular will in law-making there would be no need of interpreters. Laws to be intelligently voted upon by the people would be sufficiently explicit for all to understand without an expensive court system to explain. The will of the people by such a law-creating system would express the constitutionality of the measures accepted, so there would be no question as to validity of enactments. It looks beautifully simple, grandly fair. It would involve the abolition of representative government as we now know it, but there have been no good arguments advanced for the continuation of such representative government, so-called, as we have known of late years. The failure of

the judiciary to keep inviolate the principles of our institutions is the source of the clamor it has caused. No department of existing governmental machinery has been assailed on any other ground but that of failure and insufficiency in the world assigned as its dominion.

Much of the apparent instability of public choice of men, measures and parties, and much of the fickleness charged against the voting element is due to this uncalculated and incalculable vacillation of men chosen for a direct purpose who fail in its performance. That voters appear to know not what they want is chargeable to the fact that they rarely get what they ask for or are promised. The last four presidential elections, through the operations of our election machinery, have alternately shifted on representatives of the democratic or republican party the responsibility of government in the executive department. The one-term policy seems to show the inability of the people to find a representative who will express their desires, as well as showing many other things equally unhappy. No fixed policy of national administration appearing, and failure to keep faith as voters conceive faith to be, the law of revenge for neglected trust, for faith betrayed, writes Mene, Mene, before the eyes of the delinquents.

As it is with administrations, so is it with congresses and all other expressions of public choice in matters political. These rapid and unexpected transfers we call landslides. But even landslides do not occur without full cause. The loosening process must reach a certain stage before the land can slide. As long as the causes continue landslides will occur, for the cause present, the slides help to preserve final equilibrium. This is as true in the realm of politics as in the realm of nature. Despotic heads of congresses who apply gag rule; who render the body powerless by a fixed determination to

do nothing and permit nothing to be done contrary to the will of the despot; who establish quorums by count and measure with the inflexible rule of personal ambitions friend and foe alike, express evidences of monarchical tendencies on the part of elective officials which have caused seemingly solid earth to slide from under the feet of usurping monarchists. Municipal corruptions unequaled and failures and corruptions in state rule are the causes in their own spheres for the remarkable shiftings of control there. These changes may not at present accomplish much; they may only indicate the restlessness of the people under the repeated betrayals their representatives have subjected them to. They may portend a change greater yet, one that for a time will render impossible the practices we have suffered from. The people are a judge of fraud and inefficiency after an experience with them.

The way of escape from these unconstitutional conditions and renderings is plain. The right of amendment guarantees any freedom of action. Equality of rights may be arrived at by means that treason itself cannot defeat as contrary to the spirit of our great charter. Direct vote for all officers will destroy the disposition of making a public office a means of money-getting. The abolition of offices that have by late tendencies been found unsafe can be reached and unworthy officials who consider themselves well intrenched in custom and law-clad security may be set aside for those who will not betray the people for whom they have been asked to act. All this can be accomplished and more. Direct vote on all measures of public importance would remove law-making from the influence of jobbers. The will of the people is supreme and there is no department of political activity they do not or may not control. As a right,

they are certainly free to govern according to their desires, the economic, as well as the political life of the nation. How far the exercise of that right should at present be given play is a question that engages much discussion. There are industries that by the nature of power in the commercial world suggest the desirability of an immediate general control, as there are many features of our political system calling for a closer connection with the people.

Methods become obsolete with the age and condition that called them into form. In the rapid evolution of American social and civil life the methods of fifty years ago are too restrictive for to-day and unable to maintain the equality we have pledged ourselves to preserve. Aside from their innate powerlessness at the best to meet the needs of present-day necessities, those methods, good in their day, have been reversed, their better features restricted in a manner to altogether unfit them for present use. The early spirit has been subverted, and that to the hurt of the body of people. Offices are looked upon as a power for personal advancement—the good of the people is a minor consideration or a direct antagonism to the schemes of the officeholder. In the latter case the scheme is not the consideration that suffers. Poor men go into offices the fixed salaries of which are no more than will maintain the incumbents in a manner of living compatible with the dignity of the position. These men frequently lay down the responsibilities of office—and its opportunities—rich men, sometimes very rich men even in the present magnified use of the term. Here is a reverse; formerly wealthy men entered office and came out no richer than they went in. Sometimes they came out with fortunes impaired or perhaps ruined. Their necessary neglect of personal business resulted in a decline of their personal wealth. But the nation pros-

pered under their rule. The unpurchasable virtue of that early time is what the world expects of the guardians of nations. In this commercial age the corrupters of venal officials argue with effect the necessity of every man's providing for himself! It is becoming particularly true of us that most men have a price. That price is often the betrayal of their friends. The apprehension of this is the cause of outcries against existing political institutions. The shame of nations is corrupt officials, the betrayal of nations is the price they pay for their trust in traitors. It is time to direct into different channels and to enlarge the scope of personal freedom in civil matters that shall preserve and forward the good of society. The time is opportune, for encroachments have proceeded to a point where no doubt can remain as to the ultimate object and not yet to a point where force of arms will be necessary to demonstrate to the world that personal liberty and rights have come as a perpetual corollary to governments. The way is yet open through constitutional provisions for such changes as may be deemed necessary and acceptable. But each succeeding betrayal of trust on the part of those in power makes this way less possible.

It is neither the breadth nor narrowness of our fundamental laws that calls forth the biased dispensations we are experiencing. It is the narrowness, the biased constructions that create and perpetuate abuses. The provisions as first made acceptably served the nation in days past, but must not be regarded as fixed. They were only as the inelastic case infolding the chrysalis life, and in due time they should have been burst asunder that the life might grow to a more beautiful form and develop a broader freedom. Those early provisions are too restrictive for our present needs. The growth of population multiplies in operation the complexities of

the system of government. The fundamental errors growing out of the present dispensation are indirect government, with the abuses unavoidable to such a method, and the construction of property clauses into enactments favorable to classism that operate to progressively strengthen those in whose favor discriminations are made. All other false constructions aim at the strengthening of these two mistakes. It is the wealth concentration supported by political inequalities that betrays and ultimately tears down and disintegrates nations. Our charter is broad enough, just enough in its provisions for the growth of new forces to give the blessings it aimed at to all who come within its scope of action. But we have not preserved its intentions. The right of amendment in provisions contrary to the highest good fits us for a progressive life easily graduated to the new conditions we are yearly developing. This right the constitution itself guarantees; this right in the power of a people over their lives is superior to any law or tradition binding them. But its strength is less than the strength of superstition, and it is to the point of superstition that many carry their reverence for early forms.

Nations need not decay, might go from glory to glory if their warders would observe justice and spurn all tendencies to classism. While equality of opportunity is maintained and laws preserving the rights of all are adhered to, no nation can fall of its own weakness. Strength cannot grow out of an abnormal development of one part, for such development comes only through the weakening of other parts. All may be great, but if one be greatest the equality at once ceases. Of the sum of the people's strength, if abnormal strength be given one class, all other classes must be weakened in the proportion that the strengthened class draws from

the sum the strength that should go to each class in equitable distribution.

The constitution nowhere expressly provides that one man shall treat another justly. Yet justice between men was the hope animating the fathers, and such provisions as were thought necessary were created to guard the rights of all. It shows no clause declaring that one section of our country, one class of our people, should be built up at the expense of tearing down another section or class, or even at the slightest disadvantage of others. At the time it was formulated and adopted such inequalities of wealth and opportunity distribution were not existing here and sufficient safeguards against them were adopted. The fathers read the history of past oppressions with a care to the avoidance of their repetition. They could not provide and legislate for all time. They could but clear ground and lay the foundation. The superstructure must show the handiwork of their successors. Deeming that an alert and patriotic people would by strength of ballot power be sufficient guard to their own liberties they declared that before the law, before the country, and in the honors, the toils, and in the consideration of the commonwealth they were to found, one man should stand the equal of others as he stands before God. This recognized political equality involves all equality. That developments have drawn sharp distinctions, making three classes in the social family where they thought one enough is not the fault of the fathers and their plan, but the fault of the sons and their execution of the plan.

That all men are equal in the law of the universe is a truth more solemn, more plain, more emphasized than which there is none recorded in the Sacred Writings, nor in all ages spoken by lips inspired. The immortal declaration of truths in government upon which we have

hoped to base our institutions proclaims the equality of man to be the fundamental principle of all justice in governments. Yet by our usage of the constitution we have as much abrogated the spirit of this, the underlying principle of our fundamental law, as though the required number of states had endorsed an amendment which would read: Congress shall appoint a certain number of citizens of the United States, not to exceed three in number to every one hundred thousand inhabitants, the number appointed to diminish as the population increases, who shall have power over the rest of the citizens to command their services to carry forward such work or works as shall result in the aggrandizement of the three citizens in every one hundred thousand, or a less number per one hundred thousand as congress shall provide. The laborers or those who work for the interests of the citizens set aside to receive the wealth of the majority shall be paid such sums only or shall receive such percentage of the wealth they fashion as those who control them shall find it to their own personal interests to pay, and the majority are restrained from strikes and protests of all forms by such penalties as congress shall deem wise and prudent for the preservation of the common peace. Congress shall further provide that employers have such control over the acts of employés as will secure the political support and activities of all to such use as shall be by employers deemed necessary to promote the best interests of the country. Such an amendment, if proposed, would get its author hanged, no doubt. But for the men who have made its supposed provisions to approach reality, we order another fate—usually one that helps toward the possibility of a virtual amendment of this import. The entire argument for such a law at once suggests itself: the necessity for employers to be enabled to pay good wages; the protective

care for employés, surpassing the solicitude of a father for his child; the incompetence of labor to determine a fair rate of compensation for a day's work; the restlessness of labor when employers cannot comply with the demands of hungry workers; and above all, the inability of men absorbed in bread-getting to judge what men are best suited to the control of state, what measures are best fitted to bring relief to insupportable conditions. The support of such a measure would save much exhaustive brain work on the part of the eager defenders of plutocracy. Editorials that in the past supported features of such an all-inclusive measure could be reset. Pamphlets published for a like purpose could be put through another colossal edition. Speeches that have for thirty years summed up these arguments could with little work be polished up to fit the occasion with a precision unsurpassed by the latest discoveries in that line. All the campaign devices so effective of late years would do service here. The very statement that the three men in every one hundred thousand were to control the services of the rest would imply work, and would not the ability to pay high wages insure their payment? We have always heard so. What things that ability implies; how much it would be made to accomplish in such a campaign! Why, here, poor, erring brother, is an advance on the payment of wages you are to receive when the three come into possession of their fullest ability. Take the trifling sum as an earnest of the great things that are to come to you if the right man is elected. But, by the way, see to it that you vote for the man representing the measure; this money, you know, is but an advance made from his promise of ability to pay wages. If you should fail to vote for him he must lock up, for where would his ability to pay wages be found if the whole country goes to the devil, whose wages are even

less than you now receive? Not even new arguments to voters in those confidential talks between hired and hirer just before election! A great saving of time and strength, surely.

Our difficulty is found in the perversion of constitutional privileges and provisions. The constitution nowhere provides that citizens shall not be taxed in proportion to the wealth they command or in proportion to their ability to meet expenses of government. It does provide that congress shall take such act as will result in revenue for the satisfaction of expenses of government. It nowhere provides that in and under pretext of revenue collections, congress shall levy tariff taxes in such a way that one dollar goes into the government treasury and three into the treasury of the home manufacturer who is in competition with the foreign manufacturer of the taxed article. The power to regulate trade carries with it no such monstrous construction for the support of the discriminations we have suffered from. It might with more fairness and closer conformity to the principles of our institutions be held to govern these tendencies to wealth concentration and monopolizations that have thrown our industrial machinery out of balance. It nowhere provides that congress shall regulate trade in a manner that compels the producing classes to pay tribute to the non-producers, that while the great portion of our people are in competition with the world, as they must always be, a small number shall be so supported by law that the helplessness of their countrymen and the workers of the world shall be the source from which they draw great riches. There are many things the constitution does not provide, but which its distortions make manifest.

Of the two methods of raising revenue, one a tax on incomes above a given amount yearly, and the other that

creates, principally, revenue for the protected monopolist, and incidentally revenue for the country, and that by highly taxing the necessities of the laborer, few would hesitate to say which antagonizes the spirit and provisions of the constitution. Our supreme court, supposed to embody the supreme justice and legal wisdom of the country, pronounced the former unconstitutional. Should a test be made and the same court asked to pronounce upon the constitutionality of laws that virtually deprive men of the greater part of their earnings for the benefit, the so-called protection, of those who have monopolized the industrial opportunities of the country, those who have questioned the integrity and desirability of a continuation of this body would have a further opportunity of judgment. If a test could be made of the laws that make it possible for a few men to put up the price of coal, flour, and other necessities, or a test made of the land laws in their multiplied results, we could know where the courts stand in the question of opportunities of the rich *vs.* necessities on the part of the commonalty. The results of these relations in industry are suffering and death, with a greater loss to the nation than both suffering and death are able to inflict. The apparent indifference to this arrangement is, on the part of the law power, relieved only by an attitude of absolute hostility toward the interests of the common people. So our courts are coming to lose the appellation of courts of justice and are earning that of courts of injustice.

Any court of justice could not do less than pronounce our conditions contrary to our fundamental law, unreasonable, unjust. They are all three. Unconstitutional for the basis of constitutionality is found in the doctrine that grants freedom of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness with special privileges to none and without

specification or generalization that one man or several men are to be the beneficiaries of the labor and earnings of others. Unreasonable, for there is nothing in the mind, logic or sophistry of man that can with a show of reason endorse the terms that eventuate in such uncompromising inequalities. Unjust, for the essence of justice is embodied in equality of opportunity. They could without hesitation be classed as uncivilized; barbarism, savagery, abounds with favors to those who can seize and hold them, with "devil take the hindmost" sentiment.

There is no plea to be offered in extenuation of the crimes against the common people that have been committed under the perversions of our charter. If the conditions that now govern production and distribution were aimed at by the fathers, then they instead and in pretense of establishing a free republic that would truly be a home of the oppressed and the hope of all, have fastened on us monarchism of a most subtle and dangerous kind. If they promised us freedom and gave us slavery, then our laws and conditions are constitutional, instituting as they do wealth beyond computation in a few families, death by starvation, by shame, by despair, in thousands, whose numbers are to be told by the hundreds of thousands of late years in this land of plenty. If these laws and conditions are constitutional, then in order to establish the justice we have been supposed to be guided by there is work to be done. Work in the amendment of the constitution by the methods prescribed until equity be established. Or if that way be too circuitous, too much impeded, abolish the constitution as it stands and establish in its stead a fundamental code that will order for us the safety we have supposed we rested in. If the laws that cause inequalities to reign are contrary to the spirit of constitutionally guaranteed

rights, the way is open to the abolition of them, for the crushing out of all that are monarchical in tendency. Let us have justice and democracy, the twin companions of civilization. Let us have them, no matter what goes to give them place. Reverence, superstitious regard for form, has been from the beginning the weapon of the hypocrite and traitor in statecraft.

Anti-trust laws may be spread from cover to cover of statute books and the evils from which our people suffer in industrial inequalities will grow. All provisions seeking a limitation of operation in these evils are gendered by ignorance or chicanery if the power by which the oppressors flourish is left untouched. Dropping out of consideration the so-called constitutionality of laws; leaving out all question of justice and moral right, the commonest of sense and the law of preservation demands the defense and guarding in their property rights of all the citizens. No society is secure without this protection, but provisions looking to this assurance are nullified in an industrial state where a necessity to production is subject to the control of private interests. Property rights in equality do not exist where monopolizations by individuals is practiced in the distribution of resources and opportunities. Of what avail is it to say that the man who hires labor must pay so much money for so much work when grinding down his share of the rewards of production is a power that assesses him, for the opportunity of producing, to a degree that makes higher wages impossible? He will simply suspend business or go out permanently. If he controls both the opportunity and the productive capital he will be able to go on even though he be unable to evade the law. Trusts and all forms of illegal combinations in business will be able to do their work in serene contempt of laws trying to abolish them or restrict their operation if the basis of mo-

nopolization is left them. Anti-trust laws so far have only been barren confessions of the existence of industrial oppressions. Their efforts to counteract the evils following primary inequalities are a futility from which we gain only one good. This is the evidence that the world of labor and law-framing are coming to see the necessity for action of some kind relative to an equalization in the possession of the results of toil.

A promising feature of all agitations in social, economic and political lines is the altruistic spirit that is beginning to permeate the universal thought along these lines. Aside from all legal enactments to that end, we are learning that society is bound together by the ties of common interest; that we are united in the bonds of kindness and self-preservation to protect one another in rights of property, rights of society, rights of conscience. What we do for mankind, the blessings we help to call forth and insure for our commonwealth or the race, we share in. We cannot be secure in any of these beyond the security of the generation in which we live. This truth has been known in all ages and civilizations, and ages and civilizations have manifested tendencies peculiar to the time in the preservation and security of these rights. Force of arms was a common resort; trick and intrigue were likewise favorites. Upon these defenses no lasting security can be guaranteed. But all ages and civilizations have not lacked those who would tear down the state, tear down civilization, tear down humanity to the service of selfish ends. The world to-day holds a greater fund of active humanitarianism than ever before, and more clearly sees the ruin waiting on all forms of discriminations affecting inharmoniously the social state, but the greed of the world has not been safely reined. The only nations reaching a high level of civilization and surviving the influence of Greed and

Classism are those existing to-day, and how much they owe their survival down to the present time to the absence of the time test is not to be said. Some are deteriorating now, others are hastening in a more rapid decline, and if the disintegrating causes be not removed nothing can avert their ruin. Greed and Classism is the danger signal they have flaunted by. Of the nations in the past strong in world influence, Greed and Classism is the warning epitaph history has engraven in ineradicable characters upon their sepulchers.

To-day Greed and Classism are the forces that are working death in our own country when we ought to be in the early stages of a progressive life. Like the tippler who is strong in the conceit of his youthful foolhardiness and does not believe himself in danger until the time of safety is past, so do we play with evil and think no harm will come of it. We grant privileges that are directly opposed to the spirit of our constitution, that antagonize the thought and traditions of our people; we make laws to favor classes; we succumb to the demands and power of industrial institutions we have created contrary to all our sentiments of justice and under whose domination industry becomes a force for the crushing of the masses. If we continue as we have been going, worse will befall. The current begins to run swift and the ship of state swings and plunges to every eddy and ripple. Those who listen closely can even now hear the roar of the cataract ahead as the suppressed cries of the wretched millions. Yet the captain, Greed, cries for more steam, the pilot, Classism, calls for more sail, and the ship's company look at the boiling track left behind and shout in exultation, "How rapidly we move!" and in the noise and merriment they do not hear the voice of the cataract nearing them with each leap. The company trust the captain and pilot. There are danger signals along the bank,

but the captain orders the ship to be kept well out in the mid-stream, so the company cannot read them; there are sharp rocks in the path, but the pilot skillfully avoids them and the company gives him much praise. The captain and pilot bid the ship's company to look back at the path left by the ship to note the receding landmarks and the dangerous rocks safely passed. And the captain and pilot say, "How rapidly we move!" The company, looking back, repeat it and give the ship's managers more praise.

Have you never heard that same word of praise? It is mostly spoken in a form as "marvelous progress in industrial enterprise," "unequaled increase of riches," and other words that only mean "how rapidly we move!" The captain, Greed, and the pilot, Classism, hear us with exultation and know they are safe in our acceptance of the term.

There is a great amount of falsity spoken in our efforts to appear to ourselves and to others as we would like to be able to stand. We talk at confidence building with an effort painful to witness, harping on the unrivaled attractions of America as a paradise for the oppressed; a place where all may become prosperous; where privations are the choice of those too ambitionless to work. All this was true sixty years ago, was largely true forty years ago. How far from true to-day let observation, let daily happenings, witness.

We boast our increase in wealth, failing to consider that by the terms of its unequal possession it is a source of weakness to us, a curse instead of a blessing. In a community of two if one man has great wealth and the other is without wealth and kept from creating wealth, the man who has wealth can corrupt him who has none, can command, can buy him. What is true in a community of two is true of a community where they who

have wealth stand as three to a hundred who have neither wealth nor the opportunity of producing wealth. The era of class legislation was begun and augmented by the conditions introduced at the period of the civil war. Specialties in class legislation had their foundation already in the practice of subjecting natural opportunities of wealth production to the control of individuals. The impetus given Classism in the special legislation of the civil war has been steadily supported in the same way since. With the entrance of this order the conditions favorable to human happiness commenced the diminishing process at a rate increased beyond the natural progress attending the operation of monopolizing opportunities. The two have hastened the day when either would have collected the strength that now makes them destructive of the common prosperity.

There are classes whose prosperity can be assured in only one way—that of freedom from despoilment. They are without the pale of positive measures of befriending import. Their rights in the consideration of trade regulations, in the propositions of tax apportionments, in all phases of property rights are equal with all other classes. That they have been set aside, sheep for the shearers, their toil a golden fleece to those who command it, is not due to the principles of government we have built upon. It is the result of carelessness on our part and the viciousness characterizing late constructions.

It is the perverter of constitutional rights that says, to lull our fears, "How rapidly we move!" Privileges to those who can grasp and hold them has grown to be the property clause of the constitution by latest construction.

CHAPTER VII.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

The birth of a political party is the result of a condition in society or government that a man or men feel to be demanding a change, feel to be no longer endurable. The man, or men, evolve a theory of remedy for the, to them, unbearable condition and straightway begin to call attention to the evil, the necessity for its abolition, and their theory for its abolition. Others are persuaded of the evil, the danger of its continuation, the wisdom of the remedy proposed. After a while a little convention is held. The little convention is ignored, it is not important enough to call out even contempt. When the convention has grown some the rest of the world perceive that it is a fact; theorists, dreamers, the critics say, struggling for the impossible to be accomplished by impossible means. In a few years the growth is more undeniable and it is then scoffed at and made the object at which witticisms as well as invectives are trained. A few more years and a larger hall is employed to accommodate the delegates and then the platform is discussed as a real factor in the political world, and true to the experience of all like expressions, if not pronounced visionary and impracticable it is said to be ruinous to the good of the country. The leaders are called dangerous men waiting but an opportunity to wreck the country through ignorant defiance of the—ideas of some other patriot,—and we have another political party.

It is the same with new issues, with the new calls to action to meet new conditions. The new party, the new

issue or the revived issue may not do more than call away from other parties a small following. The new or revived idea may become so powerful in sections that conciliations in the way of fusions are resorted to. It may result in a merging of different factions until something formidable appears. The effort has not been in vain. It has helped to keep men thinking which is the mission of the partisan organization. It gives them something to think about,—if no more than how to devise ways of obviating the new demand by offering something said to be better or by deceiving its adherents into the belief that the older order offers the same thing to be arrived at by entirely different methods; persuading the reformers how to arrive at a point to the west by traveling east on an uncurving surface, or as closely west as directly south leads. The disturbing idea may with credit endorse a candidate of another party, may take a position that will enable it to hold the balance of power and so practically assert and make good its position and take itself out of the list of ignored things. When it reaches this stage it serves the wholesome purpose of keeping the people awake which is a prime necessity in representative government. In the route of orderly progress the new idea as it first appeared or in modified form is adopted as a part of the life of the political organization and the impossible has been accomplished, the visionary has become actuality in the life of world forms and the thing dangerous has become in a measure the salvation of the very institutions it was feared to threaten. Representative government was once an impossibility in the fears and opinions of man, a disloyalty to order and right, a skull and cross-bones to constituted government. Freedom of conscience was all these and worse, so much worse that whereas men frequently lost life for believing and talking either, at that time new

idea, the latter carried with this loss the further and incomparable loss of the soul! Let not the idealist of the present age be discouraged. His cherished "impossibilities" are not so much in advance of actualities as was at one time representative government and freedom of conscience. Nor are they more bitterly opposed.

Upheavals in partisan organizations have in the last few years had all the purifying effects on the political atmosphere in this country that blood draining revolutions produce in other countries. The machine power and the voting power find they can no longer dwell in unity unless the latter choose to smother conscience for the sake of harmony, a thing honest men will not do, a thing they cannot do. The result of this discovery is in the end that dissatisfied elements seek more harmonious companionship, that negative lines up with negative, positive with positive and the possibility of actual movement is assured. A fair exchange in gains and losses with a fair lesson. Schisms within, we are taught, are not to be truced with the olden sham of party first and principle afterward. This is a lesson the machine element of American politics has long needed. It is one the machine product known as politician would do well to heed. When all who have firm convictions on a public question comprehend the effectiveness of a vote cast with the party promising legislation along the line they desire, dillydallying with vital issues will cease and there will be less of broken faith on the part of public servants. As one important matter is taken up for consideration at a time, as of late, it gives an opportunity for all to express themselves in a way permitting them to vote with party for principle if possible, principle without party if they must, or as has been often and is still somewhat, party without principle if that is the voter's conception of being a franchise holder in a land where the

ballot is designed to rule. That the ballot has not ruled more completely is not the fault of the system so much as of the misapplication of the power. The way is given whereby we may have whatever laws we desire. To secure them requires, in the most direct form of government, courage and honesty on the part of those exercising ballot rights. There are always two forces bidding for control in government and an elective people may choose either. If we prefer to put ourselves under bondage to powers that have no other conception of government than the jobs, we must be content to be governed by job rule. If the demand made is emphatic enough we will get those measures we ask for no matter how strong the job forces may seem to be. Vacillation, subserviency will be met with treachery. Let us not expect bread when we ask for a stone. This has been our asking many times; truly, it has been our strong prayer and demand.

The demonstration of the advancing position of voters in regard to political standards is a happy feature in a case that presents otherwise phases that are dark and which would seem well-nigh hopeless to the future of representation as we have tried to realize it. Happily for us the night of blind faith in party leaders and party tenets has begun to lift away before the dawn of a day of freedom in thought and act whose promise is of a higher conception of the obligation of the voter to the citizen; happy for us will it be if this darkness is forever banished or approaches banishment. There is darkness yet, but less servile following where reason and interest forbid. Party prejudices in the past have wrought much damage to the national condition. But experience has taught us some valuable lessons, among which is the truth that a surrender of the citizen's right, however made, nullifies the citizen's power. While corruption has doubtless

been more notorious of late in some parts than ever before, the cause that cannot rest on its own merits is not to be forever a controlling policy through the power of bribery. A whole people cannot be bought, nor any considerable number for an extended time. Stronger reason for believing that the day is past when it will be found possible to change a nation's decision by the power of money is found in the awakening thought of the people as to the monstrous evils attending a system which makes possible such results. Corruptions in politics and the defeat of the popular will through the manipulations of our complex elective machinery will do more to hasten the day of direct control than all the unsupported arguments in its favor can effect.

The opponents of free government and the public good are wiser than the supporters of the same. They do not war among themselves as to how a thing shall be done. They go ahead and do it. They do not dissipate their strength by scattering their forces. Wherever is a weakness there they hurl their weight. They do not consume their strength in factional bickerings. No matter how diverse their opinions on lesser questions the main point at issue rallies the entire force to its support. They do not quarrel before the trap is set as to whether they shall stew or roast their hare; they catch it first as a necessary preliminary to the cooking, knowing that the rest is easily taken care of. Previous to the catching there may be a question as to how much shall go to the trapper, how much to the skinner, how much to the cook, but when the hour for action comes undecided questions are dropped out and all effort is directed to the trap. They gain by doing so and those who oppose their principles could with benefit follow their mode of procedure. If the people who hold to the same important ideas would combine instead of dividing into many

opposing and self-canceling organizations the changes in national matters so much needed could be introduced. Under representative government it is the only way desired ends can be reached. Indirect legislation best serves those who best watch and plan and stand together. It results oftener in the defeat of the majority than their triumph in our country because of peculiarities of apportionment and other like causes; very much too because the majority have not yet learned that in union lies salvation.

The war ever has been and ever will be democracy or monarchy. Representative government is middle ground, uncertain ground for the friends of direct government. Minor differences subordinated to important needs will coalesce the workers for free government, rebuke and nullify the tendency toward monarchy.

A king of England, we are told, extracted gold from the Hebrew residents in his kingdom as a condition to not extracting their teeth, a novel and unfailing method in fine accord with the half-barbaric days in which it was practiced. Those rude times are swallowed up in the softness of modern estheticism and with them have passed the vigorous manners of a supreme king. The improved method of present civilization puts the wealth of the people into the tills of plutocracy without occasioning the expense of forceps. This control is such, that in the powerlessness of the people to refuse, whatever the demand it must be satisfied or the people's masters shut up shop and factory, suspend the activities of a national industrial system and starve a nation of workers into obedience to their behests. We are ultimately powerless in their grasp if powerless to break the bonds we have forged through their suggestion and instigation. The laws, such puny efforts as are enacted for their limitation, they respect not; the laws they obey

not unless it be those favors of legislative bodies that grant them immunity from the legitimate hindrances to trade and self-preservation on the part of labor, which serve to put the people more completely at the mercy of the unholy alliance known to and evidenced by our peculiarly American policy.

While the unwilling idler sits in sorrowful repose, while business institutions crash down to irretrievable ruin and the financial world stands on the brink of chaos and our social state is anarchic because of disorders irritated by indecision and suspense, representative government plays into the hand of plutocracy. When children starve because fathers are idle our lawgivers wrangle in the halls of legislation for advantages to themselves and their rich patrons who put them there for a purpose. In times of war and the necessity of immediate revenues is imperative political bargains are driven and political debts are satisfied through the revenue creating function of government. All times of peril are the opportunity of the traitor and indirect legislation is his most unfailing instrumentality. Other unexpected features have cropped out. Special congresses to devise special means for creating revenue for governmental purposes when soup houses are on the increase; the same to advance protection to the hirer in particular fields when his workers go hungry or start in the long journey whose stop-over privileges are claimed at back doors and whose terminus is the potter's field; to create money by destroying it; to appoint commissioners to go to Europe and ask permission of governments there that we may conduct our own affairs and guide our government with the sense heaven gave us, independent of the action, the wisdom or wishes of any other nation of earth. These and many others of the same class are some of the duties of law-making bodies and presidents as we have

evolved them in a hundred years, this the office of representative government as interpreted for us, this the dead wall we have run up against in our march to great things, these a part reason for the poisonous fog of failure blurring our star of destiny before it fairly flashes above the eastern horizon. It is no pessimistic dream; it is the horror that grows from over optimism. It is no nightmare to be shaken off with a turn of the sleeper's body; it is the realest struggle that ever engaged a society, to win which is life, to lose which is death.

What can we do? Rather, what *must* we do? Many things, my brother of the faint heart and down-drooped head, many things that are waiting to be done, but those things are not such as those you have been doing in the past. Who delivered up the glorious heritage of Jefferson, Adams, and other immortal sons of Liberty and champions of Human Rights? Who suffered the scepter of dominion to be snatched from your hand and delivered into that of your enemy? Who made these money-potencies to have power over us, who sold us from a hope of democracy to the fear of plutocracy? Nothing in heaven or earth, but the only power, and that of earth, which could make it possible—and that power, ourselves. Bewail not their dominion, marvel not at the tenacity of their clutch. Bewail rather our imbecility and stupidity that sat blinking in owl-like assumption of wisdom and approval while they spread the net before our very eyes, into which we stepped at invitation, still blinking, still assuming wisdom, still approving with the unmatched approval that came of faith in the old ticket. Marvel rather at our timidity which has succeeded to our assumption of wisdom; marvel at our reluctance to sunder the bonds they have enmeshed us with, at our fear of "experimenting" in a return to the orders that brought us success and safety in times past. Marvel still more at the caress-

ing hands we lay on our chains while we pray deliverance from their oppressions.

This is the way we have, in a measure, worked out a representative government. The methods by which we arrive at the results are as unique and expressive of representation by our interpretation as are the results in themselves. Voters driven in blocks of five to vote for candidates selected through adroit manipulation of nominating conventions that are in themselves largely irresponsible and often wholly misrepresentative; intimidations, colonizations of voters, threats of dismissal from service, promises of increased wages, promises of work, to influence votes in a representative government. Purchase of offices, thefts of offices, gifts of offices in a representative government. Bribery of officials, sale of constituents in a representative government. The ballot has been used by the people and by the enemy of popular government to enslave the people, to cripple the good right hand of labor, instead of strengthening, instead of preserving the rights of all; to bind us closely in the thrall of monopoly rights, to defeat the very end for which it was created—freedom in the lives of the people.

It is a great work to govern seventy-five millions of people. It is a work difficult to the people themselves when the peculiarities of the American composition are considered. Lack of a fixed national character is felt in all features of our life, but nowhere more strongly than in the control of the franchise right. The lawless elements from abroad that have been vested with the power of the ballot, the irresponsible and unreflecting that have been incorporated into our national body, their rights of citizenship to be used as a weapon of revenge or a commodity of barter as caprice or venality suggests, increase the complications ordinarily attending the preservation of honesty in indirect government.

Many things have crept into our representative government and general interpretation of the object thereof that were not contemplated by the founders; many things which of themselves are contrary to all forms of government but that of strictest despotism. Even the forces that we hoped were for the preservation of society are being assailed. The president of an eastern college was told by the management to no longer teach a doctrine unpopular in that geographical section. Being a man and not a slave he must believe what his researches marshaled by his intelligence convinced him to be true. Speaking, he must speak as his conscience dictated. Because he could not stultify himself the clash between fidelity to conviction and the arrogance of power resulted in his final withdrawal from that institution. A professor in a western college has had a similar experience. The supremacy of money has been acknowledged in the political realm; it seeks to extend its sway to the fountains of learning where it may exercise a controlling influence far beyond any possible of play in the primaries or at the polls.

Another college president has gone on record as arraigning the public school system of the country as inimical to the peace of the people. Education, he truthfully declares, is fitted to make men and women dissatisfied with social affairs as they are developing here, making them restless and consequently dangerous under our increasing tendency toward patricianism and plebeianism. He does not recommend the abolition of conditions increasing the differences in the relative economic standing of the classes, hence the only hope of comfort to be gained from his observations is the abolition of the public school system. It is suicidal to perpetuate in the name of education agencies that will increase the liability to national rupture,—that will inevitably bring disorder and ruin. This we all know but the question on which the division

of opinion would occur will be whether we shall abolish the school or reform the industrial system that produces in the lives of the people conditions so at variance with the aims of education. From this man's standpoint the schools must go. This is the common school. The institutions of higher learning patronized by the rich produce no such effect as is complained of in the people's school. There is not that in their educational results and surroundings which tend to produce dangerous dissatisfaction for theory is not, with their attendants, so much at variance with actual personal conditions. All that is necessary there is to keep a corps of educators in train with the beliefs and ambitions of the patrons,—which is education after a kind, education which received a backset at Runnymede and is completely repudiated by the Sermon on the Mount. Another, a man who has stood high in official circles and whose impress on public affairs has been unmistakable in late years, has declared that the educated labor agitator is a foe to existing institutions. As this man is a friend to existing institutions it must follow that he is not a friend to education in those circles where education gives prestige to those who speak for the dumb, toiling, millions. When the voice of those who cry aloud and spare not the oppressor, is strangled, industrial slavery has won another advocate.

We have boasted that American superiority in the fields of industry is due to the superior intelligence of our workers. It has been found as a rule to govern wages and estimate efficiency that better wages and superior work prevail in those localities where education, and consequently a high degree of intelligence, is brought to the assistance of natural ability of workers than are found in those sections lacking in these aids. The instances cited showing opposition to education of the masses are not the only evidences of hostility on the part of the enemies of

progress. Tentative and identifying utterances of a similar nature increase in frequency. Beast intelligence is compatible with beast surroundings and less resents the beast's lot than does the order of intelligence that attends mental cultivation. In the common schools of America is the vivifying force in the future of the masses of American freemen. There are none to guard this right but those who profit by it.

Another matter we have made much of aside from the free ballot to maintain and guard the liberties of the people, is free speech. A right of free speech is certainly within proper limits, an accompaniment of free government. It is one of the surest tests of such freedom. In Russia free speech is prohibited, and naturally enough. If freedom of thought expression were permitted, his imperial majesty, the czar, would hear many things proclaimed from the housetops which are now whispered, and only in the secrecy of unhearing walls. Riot and anarchy would stalk the streets of St. Petersburg within a month after the restrictions to speech were removed, were not some of the restrictions that govern men's lives there removed also. Tyranny cannot survive discussion. Napoleon, the arch-despot, said, "My power could not last three days if I were to give the liberty of the press." None knew better than he the necessity for silence on subjects of governmental policy if that policy were designed to oppress. In such governments as he stood for a press censorship and the right of no man to express thoughts uncomplimentary to the ruler or ruling power are essential to the continuation of the despotism. They are essential to any despotism entering into the lives of men and are not resorted to outside of measures looking to such a condition. *Lèse-majesté* is for such but not for a free people. When the right of criticism and discussion is denied it will always be found to apply to a state

incompatible with freedom. When this right is denied it is time for the people to look into the conditions around which the governmental powers seek to draw the shield of silence for they will be found such as need exposure.

In the clashes that occurred in the coal districts a few years ago, organizers of labor were enjoined from exercising the constitutionally granted right of free speech. The operators in these fields asserted that speeches bearing on the relations of operators to laborers and the existing situation endangered the peace of the community. How far a recital of the wrongs endured by the coal miner would prove dangerous to the peace of the community in which the disturbances occurred, the operators are doubtless competent to judge. A friendly and unprejudiced world would, on investigation of conditions, consider the state of labor wrong and dangerous enough in itself to threaten the peace without a review of the situation to augment the discontent. The relations of labor and capital are not safe in any department when they will not bear comparisons. When a mere recital of conditions is considered inflammatory and dangerous to peace the conditions are certainly such as to imperatively demand adjustment on a different basis and are sufficient in themselves to endanger the peace in the community where they exist.

At the same time when the right of free speech was denied organizers several of the most active and best known were notified that they would be shot if found on the grounds of the operators. Where, even in enthralled Russia, in blinded Turkey, do we find stronger assumption of control over the lives and acts of others? It will not be long, others following the example of the coal operators, that all speech warning labor of danger or urging to action for the betterment of the worker's condition will be looked upon and decided as dangerous to the peace of the

community—the employer's peace. It will not be long with such boldness passing unchallenged that he who lifts the voice to call a halt in the oppressions of tyrannical monopoly will be deprived of liberty or life because, forsooth, he has been found guilty of endangering monopoly's peaceful possession and exercise of extortionate powers, because he has been trespassing on the grounds of monopoly. If the determination of free speech must be left to the decision of monopoly holders the people must bid good-bye to this, the dearest, the most unmistakable assurance of constitutional rights, the most undeniable of human rights. If they will preserve this they must abrogate monopoly rights. The war is on between the two forces. No land is broad enough to contain the two when the arrogance of the usurper infringes the rights and questions the presence of the lawful.

When the present operative tariff law was under discussion in the House a member of that body was asked if the measure would not give several millions of dollars in protection to the lead trust. The man, called a representative of the whole people, made answer, "I don't know and I don't care." This is the spirit of representation gone mad in classism. It is the don't-know, don't-care style of legislation in attendance on the do-know, do-care creative efforts at class legislation that has made a mock of free government in America and drilled republicanism in the line that leads back to monarchism. America, with our tied-up system of elections, has less purely representative government than forms still said to be monarchical. Our system of representation is more cumbrous, our time-lock system of office tenure making a change in governmental policy not easily effected and inducing complications that frequently result in the total defeat of the popular will. When a refractory House must be reorganized through a general elec-

tion that it may act in accordance with a satisfactory Senate, a waiting must be undergone. When a reform in the senatorial roster is necessary for progressive and needful legislation, another tiresome waiting must be endured. While one department of the law-making force is being renovated influences can be set to work on the prospective body that will completely vitiate any reforms or measures that may have been inaugurated or hoped for in co-operation with the other department. That such notorious venality should exist and hamper timely legislation and play the people false is almost wholly attributable to the system making it possible. When both houses of congress have been made up to suit the desires of the people, not infrequently an obdurate president will stand in despotic determination in the way of movement. There is no remedy for these failures to respond to the desires of the people but that found in a closer response to the immediate causes controlling elections; whether this be possible under our existing method is a question. A closer surveillance of public servants and an immediate bringing to sharp account for every failure to keep faith would determine if a reforming of our elective machinery be necessary to preserve freedom in government.

At our present progression it will not lack long of the time when the things that stood for liberty are annulled in entirety; refusal of the right of free speech on behalf of labor by labor organizers was a step,—to the prohibition of petition to the Almighty in the same cause was another. With a press censorship designed for the same purpose Napoleon declared; schools coming to be controlled by the money power, those beyond this control threatened by the first advances of suppression, and the inability of the honest voters to control legislation in late years, it would seem that the people at one time had

taken many impertinent liberties, or that the constitution is being overthrown. If the people have been mistaken and all these are constitutional, let the work proceed;—some one please hand the monopolist the declaration of independence to light his cigar with. Another please hand the trust magnate the constitution, and the apologist the fifteenth amendment for the same purpose, if this be representative government at its best, representative now too much of what the people have lost, of what their enemies have gained. Paper guarantee of rights is of small avail unless the guarantee be also written on the hearts of citizens. Let those who have rendered the constitution null and void insist on their interpretations, let them complete their work of entire destruction and the people will write a new guarantee of rights which cannot be misunderstood, for it will be fashioned after the pattern which they have in their hearts, which pattern is degrees in advance of our present paper guarantee of rights.

The civilization we know is of degree and comparison only. In ultimate expansion and expression, civilization is a lack of the necessity for written laws. The truly civilized community, however remote it may be in the future, however ideal and hence impossible it may appear to the scoffer, will no more find laws guarding life and property necessary to their preservation than the community of to-day finds it necessary to prevent honest men becoming thieves by the passage of laws for the punishment of theft. Not even the moral prohibition, Thou shalt not steal, is necessary to the conduct of those governed by generous hearts. Right governs such because it is right. So in a truly civilized state will not be found as a part of the governing force, man-made law and the outline of punishment for the violations of such

law. Moral and legal restraints will have accomplished their work to the expulsion from human thought all desire to do violence to the rights of others. Right will rule; but before that community is realized laws enforcing right relations of humanity must prepare the way for the ideal state.

Laws are the expressed consciences of the people enacting them. They do not express the conscience of the entire people, since it is necessary for their enforcement to be duly provided. When the necessity for enforcement ceases the necessity for the law ceases, as the condition it aims to secure has become a part of the life of the people through habit and free acceptance. Laws are made for the government of the minor element who have not accepted the higher law of right; sometimes they are designed for the control of those who are in advance of the law expression. That most laws are violated, infringed, trampled upon in utter disregard of punitive provisions shows that the consciences of the people are inferior or superior to them, as the ruling motive in the violation may appear. The intelligence and conscience of the people are more frequently in advance than in the rear of the laws. The work of the past has carried them beyond the situation aimed at. Laws restricting commercial rights, personal rights and laws of a purely moral character evincing bigotry and unwarranted interference are centuries in the rear of present day conditions. They have been broken from the earliest time in evolutionary process when men began to have a conscience and a knowledge of rights, when regulations on the idea of directing and restricting conscience and rights were first attempted, down to the last time the tariff law of this country was cheated, the last glass of prohibited whiskey sold, the last proscribed book transmitted by mail and the last game of ball doubly enjoyed

on Sunday because the participants were liable to punishment. There is a glory and a sense of triumph in daring to do what is believed to be not wrong, no matter what may be the penalty. This is the strength that moves the world. This is the courage that gave the open window morning, noon and night, in defiance of the yawning pit where crouched lions. This the lofty fearlessness that dared to answer the high priest so! This the truth that led men to confess their hearts' convictions when silence would have kept them from the stake. This the joy of freedom that caused men to affix their names with firm hands to an immortal Declaration which, but for the help of a force victorious to the prescient eye of faith alone, would have been their own death warrant. Men born in the bondage of political servility are born free; men born in the thrall of intellectual bigotry are born kings. Men will follow their consciences in law or without it, according as they must. The laws they enact correspond to their conscience, but there must be a vanguard to prepare the way as there must be a rearguard to preserve what has been gained between the advance and the stragglers who require close watch. While we are under necessity of electing men and paying them salaries to enact laws to govern us we are in a crude state of civilization. The perfected individual will in union with others of the same kind be attended by perfect conditions of social environment.

This places us a distance from ultimate civilization, but the way forward is not so weary as that which would lead us back. Remote as we may be from the goal, many rough places have been passed. Looking forward the path is lost in the ever-succeeding number of political obligations, social rights, moral necessities. Looking backward brings the consciousness of progress. There

has been advance in the time that saw nations toiling under the lash of a solitary taskmaster, to the campaign torchlight procession; from the day of the divinity of kings to the Australian ballot system; from the law of the Mede and Persian, unalterable, to the Wilson tariff bill of 1894, to the Dingley effort of 1897.

Necessity for laws has not ceased with us. Restrictions securing freedom must still be made. Restrictions by legal enactments making impossible the weakening and plundering of labor secure freedom of prosperity to the laborer, assuring for him the same powers that the greater strength of capital has exercised. The rights of all can be guaranteed if the voters of the land so determine and if they choose to be honest with themselves. Theirs is the power.

Ballot corruption is the great evil in America to the eyes of some, sad enough, shameful enough to all. Certainly no reform of moment is possible while political corruption exists in the body of the people, to counteract, to render fruitless the efforts put forth for the correction of evils. But the mass of citizens are not and never will be untrue to themselves. The removal of the causes that make vote-buying a decisive factor in campaigns will be in the obliteration of conditions that make the mass of people dependent for wages upon monopolizers of opportunities. Fancy an employer gathering up the assurance to notify his workers to vote for Blank-Blank or lose their places if those workers had the opportunity of going into a business each on his own responsibility or in co-operation. They would snap their fingers in the face of the impolitic employer and say, "Yes, you catch us." The next morning there would be a new industrial community established in the land; the next day there would be an employer out seeking workers; the next election day Blank-Blank

would be several votes short, and the next and succeeding years the country would be in all ways much better. To render official corruption powerless the surest way is a more direct vote by all electors in the control of offices. Not all of a voting population can be corrupted, but enough can be to make the existing method of law creation and operation abusive, to make the direction of government impotent to serve the people. Not all legislators are for sale, but enough usually find their price to make representative government represent not the people but the venality of their representatives. Representative forms of government complex as is ours, can never by the very nature of their selection fully express the sentiments of the people they govern.

We claim many things for our system of government that are beautiful and good. We have the finest theory of government in the world, only it does not work. We have clothed our theory in the garb of world-traditions and world-wrongs. Our ideal is far beyond us and we are not gaining on the distance that has hitherto separated us from that ideal. As a matter of actual experience we are losing ground, receding from the high place once held. How much this loss is accidental and apparent only, to be more than recovered, how much it is the result of indifference and the retrogression of insufficiency, the thought of the mass of people determines. In that lies safety or destruction as the well-spring of national vitality or the poison-pool of national deterioration.

CHAPTER VIII.

LESSONS FROM HISTORY.

To be well governed by a power that leaves human energies unfettered to pursue the arts of invention and production would be the ideal industrial state. To promote the development of a complete civilization through the cultivation of the graces of human character would be conducive to human happiness of the highest order. But were the necessary provisions to these met, with the form of government and the purity and infallibility of an administrative power secured in a satisfactory assurance of justice to all governed, this would not discharge the ethical responsibilities and meet the needs involved. A higher duty than that of being governed is imposed. Self-government in nations is a part of the plan of civilization as truly as self-government in the individual is a part of the discipline in character-building. Self-government is a school in the highest human development, no less undeniably and no less emphatically than the more material forces that contribute a superficially more apparent advancement and prosperity of the race. That this is true appears no less plainly in reason than in history, for the more enlightened, the more civilized, a nation becomes, the more do the customs of government and individual responsibilities in the exercise of political power gravitate toward democracy. Our task and the work of those who succeed us is a continuation of the labors of the generations of the ages. It is the adjustment to the truest basis the times will permit, and the maintenance there of the equal social and political relation-

ship of the family of mankind; to work out the political and social salvation of America and promote the same conditions in the nations of the world.

No democracy, however crude and subject to apparent inconsistencies, is incompetent to meet the needs of the people constituting it. The iron-bound, unyielding sway of monarchy has in the past been parent to the wars and crimes that blot the pages of history. When a people are ready for advancement and struggle to throw off old crudities and falsities, and the government under which they act forbids the changes to progress, the forces of advancement finally grow beyond the strength of tyrannous restrictions. Old forms and customs are forcibly cast off and the broader life enters to serve until it, too, by progress of the people, or by abuses of provisions, grows too much cramped to be longer adequate to the new occasions that spring up and develop with the march of time. An elastic form of government that yields to the demands of an increasing understanding of human rights and destinies calls for no ruptures of governmental forms, no tiger ferocities, no pillaging brutalities to sicken the world. Constitutional democracy vesting in the people governed all power over all political and social conditions and causes makes the progress of racial evolution an easy stepping to higher planes of social order as the people come to occupy higher planes of thought. New conditions of thought and increased consciousness of right and duty under such conditions cause peoples to grow into new social orders with the serenity and naturalness the new shoot embodied in the old branch of the tree reaches out into visible life through the impelling and compelling forces of spring airs and rains and suns. Life in nature and in intellectual states must manifest itself. Repression and

attempts at thwarting development result in distortion and ruptures unpleasant to look upon and experience.

The warfare between liberty and oppression is introduced to the attention of the reader on the first page of authentic history; its tradition runs yet far more remote. The first battle, continued through ages, secured to the race the form and partial semblance of democracy. This success was won on many a fiercely contested field where the foe to progress and the martyr to liberty mingled their blood and lay down in death to share a common burial. The second battle was engaged before a truce to the first could be declared, and still continues. Engaged in it on one side are the foes to human liberty and progress who seek a retrogression into the forms and practices of monarchy. On the other side are found those who look for a higher development for the race, whose faces are lifted to the light of the new day even now reddening to a dawn. The promise of the better day is not in the conditions now obtaining; it is in the awakening of the world to the knowledge of what constitutes the rights of the God-gift, life. The battle may be long, but the result cannot be doubtful. Right does not make might, it is might. If right be not might, then progress is not right, for every step in the upward way has been a struggle. The contest to-day grows toward a crisis as the forces entering into it attack and repel each other with a determination born of necessity. The world is not shocked with the din and clamor of their feats. But rarely do the ironclad, the torpedo, the rapid-firing gun, the numberless devices of man against the life of man, speak in the warfare. They are for the greater part silent in this battle, which is fought mainly in the hearts and minds of men.

Away back in the dim ages of antiquity existed the same causes of contention that to-day perplex the social

humanitarian. The same struggle for evil power over the mass of then living men, characterized by greater success than now, marked the primeval relationship of governing and governed, powerful and weak, at the dawn of history's day and has continued down to the present time, still engaging the race. The struggle of humanity has been of slow movement, the cause of humanity of slow recognition and growth. Centuries were consumed in wresting from despots a part of the power they exercised, this divided power to be parceled out to other and under-despots to the hurt and humiliation of the great body of people. Centuries were again worn away in the effort to extend the power of government through successive steps to all classes governed, the only power of government in right and reason. Even yet this power is but imperfectly recognized, and in only one country of the globe—Switzerland—is it applied to a full degree of recognition of the sovereign power of humanity over human action in political and governmental matters.

Any nation of the past could have worked out the plan of civilization and set the standard for the world had not the love of right proven weaker than the tendencies to despotism, and greed checked efforts in that direction. These tendencies further empowered for evil by the acquiescence of self-indulgent indifference on the part of the popular body enthralled the world. But power and stability have no lasting basis in tyranny, and the downfall of nations founded on this basis was and is inevitable. Both power and continuation must yield, did yield, finally, to the lapse of years concentrating the disintegrating influences that wore out the endurance of the generations of oppressed; that sickened and decayed the ruling strength through years and generations of passion unbridled and the consuming forces that eat out

the life of unchecked and ungoverned intoleration. So nation succeeded nation, now here, now there the seat of brute force that characterized the domination of ancient governments. The world is too small for more than one body of people to long maintain a high degree of power when power is measured by a brutal disregard of the rights of humanity. Tribe preyed upon tribe, nation upon nation, kings and people upon kings and people, until the rising power having reached the zenith of barbaric glory and strength, began to shine less fiercely; until gradually or suddenly the little one that unnoticed and contemptuously disregarded had become a mighty nation, a specter of fright in the path of despoliation; until the growing power arose in the irresistible strength of a newer and comparatively holier life and hurled the older and more corrupt one from the throne of world supremacy. Until less than two thousand years ago this was the universal order of march by the race.

The factor in mental development called religion impresses its power more thoroughly on the national life than any other force in the time of the individual, more indelibly than any other force in the national existence. The religion of Egypt was a pacific one, hence Egypt was rarely warlike except in defense. The religion of the Hebrew was offensive for the gaining of wealth, so the ancient Jew spared not child or woman in the pursuit of his ideal. The religion of Mohammed enjoins salvation at the sword's point, therefore the death of an infidel is as dear to the Moslem heart as the conversion of one. The gentle teachings of the Indian sages inculcate the spirit of self-sacrifice, and Brahmins will starve their bodies to death that they may feed a passing beggar. India endures oppression because the national religion is one of peace; Turkey slays inoffensive subjects

because the national religion is one of blood. So has it been always, the life of the state portraying its religion; so will it be always, the religion of the state predicting the national policy, internal and external. So has it been by the teachings of the Nazarene. When the doctrine of equal rights was first promulgated on the Mount, the people wondered at the words of the teacher who taught as one having authority and not as the scribes who enjoined obedience to the narrow Levitical orders. To the Jew this doctrine was as new and strange as it was to the greater part of the race. But the doctrine being founded on truth survived the trials to which its adherents were subjected. It spread, for truth is not stagnant. Finally, when these teachings had consciously or unconsciously impregnated to a degree the closed mind of the race, justice gained a partial recognition and power was parceled out and many grew to share the difficulties and divide the spoils of government. Then, too, was inaugurated the sharing of blessings. When one nation discovered and laid down a truth of government, however obscure the apprehension and misapplied in execution, another nation took it up to build upon it somewhat, to cut off an incongruity here, to foster a truth there. It was the slow growth of the coral reef, for many years hidden from the thought and visible knowledge of man, mounting through obstacles laboriously but with the infinite grace of patience up through the waters of blindness and horrible oppression and numberless mistakes, until the first faint rim looked smilingly up through the gloom surrounding the divine rights of kings, to the clear light heralding the diviner rights of man.

With the growth of the recognition of human equality has grown stability of governments and toleration in all realms of human activities until we now see the admin-

istrations of governmental duties discharged by kings, queens, presidents, and even directly by the people themselves. Heads of monarchies exercise but little control, and all governments in the world of civilization have become that of executives assisted by cabinets, councils, and the people they stand for, with a growth toward the completer control by the whole people in direct government. Nations no longer prey upon nations. Nations scarcely permit the strong of nations to prey upon the weak. The growth of justice and liberty in the hearts of men and in the policies of nations is sure, although suffering seeming interruptions and reverses in late years. While it is happily true that states generally exercise forbearance toward one another, the worm that dieth not, nor ceaseth to eat at the vitals of civilization, continues to threaten. Greed, unequal distribution, oppression, are as industrious in seeking control, are as insidious in action, and are as fatal to liberty as in the ages that saw the downfall and extinction of great empires through the unrestrained sway of these factors of death.

It took the Roman empire a matter of ten centuries to yield to internal decay, the germs of that decay being incorporated in the state policy with the spirit that gave absolute power over the lives of others. From the foundation of the greatest city in the political history of the world the struggle continued until right, trampled upon from the first and ascendant for a short time only, sought other fields for exemplification and the Eternal City was abandoned to the fate which she could not avoid as a consequence of her practices. It was not political inequalities that conduced in the main to that downfall. Political inequalities alone never destroyed a nation. They only point the way to danger. The strongest agencies of that overthrow were the subtle influences that set more actively to

work when the classes had gained that state of political equality for which they had contended with varying fortunes through generations and centuries, the path to which was marked by milestones stained in the blood of Roman patriots. Liberty was gained through martyrdom and lost through indifference. When many victories had been gained and Rome and the Roman world unitedly set out on that career of conquest that records the most brilliant exploits in the annals of war and which resulted in placing Rome upon a foundation that looked defiant of time itself, the enemies within, stronger than those without, succeeded where the former failed. Then the silent enemies of nations, more to be dreaded and guarded against than the shouting hosts of frantic men armed and determined, those enemies that have brought to desolation the flowers of kingdoms overthrew the work of centuries and Rome went down, a monument to her own folly and negligence. While the people, feeling secure in the broad political freedom that had been reached, sought for increased extension of territory and political power, the legislation that centers the financial interests and property rights in a few had been industriously at work and before the Roman citizen knew his danger his position changed from that of a free citizen to one of servitude and degradation fatal to the life of the nation. While Romans guarded their rights at home no less jealously than they looked after them abroad, prosperity made her home among the seven hills and reached out full hands to all who shared Roman citizenship. When Romans slept, leaving enemies to guard the hard-earned treasure of measurable equality, the valor of Rome was vanquished with the destruction of that equality and the citizen awoke to find the land seized, wealth concentrated and wrested from him the political power which had in times past served as a check on tyranny. Then the citizenry sunk to

that death state of apathy in which service to a native or foreign master signified but their lethargic insufficiency to right their many wrongs. The fires of patriotism had burned out to a lifeless ash and there was not left fuel to feed upon even had a master hand applied the torch and sought to coax a flame. So on the world stage was drawn the curtain against the Roman play.

The greater consumes the less in all societies where tendencies go to augment the great and decrease the strength of the less. Effete patricianism coupled with aggressive millionairism subtly encroached upon and eventually consumed vigorous, preserving plebeianism and Rome gave way to a superior force in the national series. A better civilization succeeded the Roman, but Rome could have done the work required in social evolution had Roman integrity been superior to the disintegrating forces of luxurious sense. It is too early to say that our later civilization exists and progresses under essentially different conditions to superior results. Self-government to the completeness with which we witness and experience it is a safeguard never before employed. Coupled with the individualism that pervades the political ideas of our better nations this is a strong power for the preservation of states. But forms of government and political rights count for nothing unless the saving forces of love of liberty and right be nourished and maintained. If the poisons of selfishness, indifference and unresisted encroachments by private powers are given place to, it will fare with later as with earlier peoples.

Greece, the beautiful and artistic, whose deeds of valor in defense of country and for the liberty she prized still thrill the hearts of patriots, yielded to the same forces that later undermined the strength of her mighty rival. When the love of luxury and power crushed out of the hearts of leaders and people the love of country and brothers,

when jealousies gendered by greed had worked out their inevitable results, the Greece of culture and once of patriotism succumbed.

Comparisons and citations of special instances tell no more than any other example which might be taken. Republic, kingdom, empire, despotism, went down to a like grave for like causes. What is true of Rome and Greece is true of all nations and civilizations of the past, their birth, growth, prime, decay, in matters of causation, in process, the same. A doubtful beginning, a struggling, stormy youth, a maturity indifferent to internal oppressions and a decline of gradual increase until a day of startling suddenness of meaning calls for a reckoning of accounts. These two nations did more to perpetuate their own memories than other nations approaching or exceeding them in magnitude of territory or absoluteness of dominion, because in the days of their wisdom they instituted and practiced many forms of political and social justice. The practice of their virtues carries with it the warning against their sins. The beginning, growth and approach to prime of strong nations existing to-day have not deviated in the least essential from those stages in the progress of states in the past. The rigors were mitigated somewhat, but the features remain. Their fate will be repeated in the repetition of their mistakes. It is inevitable. Unless the nations that now are seek out and apply a remedy for the disorders that brought death to nations that once were, they must likewise miserably perish. A few have found out remedies, or seeming remedies, and applied them with a heroism terrible in its intensity, and cleansing, preserving for the time, in results. But vigilance, vigilance, must be the watchword. Other remedies have been applied than those that seem so drastic, these with good results likewise. But there is as yet no anti-

dote discovered sufficient in saving strength to counteract the slow poison of negligence.

The world has affected to shudder at a Reign of Terror lasting a short time and sacrificing, horribly enough, it looks, a few thousand lives to the accomplishment of a great good. The same world placidly beholds the Reign of Error that continues to rule, that has crushed out millions of lives, strangled millions of manly souls and impeded the onward march of the race with barriers of foully murdered, starved, beaten, trampled bodies of human kind. We have trembled, we shrink at the lightning's instantaneous flash that carries death, but with death purification. We calmly abide the work of the poisonous gas that subtly benumbs and chokes, adding horror to horror, death to death.

The growth of governments has been steadily away from monarchy to self-rule even in those countries where hereditary rulers still figure as a part of the governmental machinery. Enlightenment accompanies freedom and truth demands but a champion in all ages and a following of brave hearts. Truth is invincible at last though meeting many seeming defeats, and though cloaked in error for a time, will in some fairer day stand disclosed to all truth worshipers. When error stands so close to truth that the two seem to blend in nature the mixed truth must give way, ultimately to a more complete truth and error be finally banished. With an Abd-ur-Rahman representing a dimly recognized truth and a Charles Martel standing for the fuller truth of a more clearly revealed God, Moslemism was crushed out in Europe, is to be crushed out ultimately to make way for a greater than Moslemism with its half-blind idolatry, its heartlessness, its salvation by bloodshed. What other sacrifices, of nations, religions, forms and lives, the progress of humanity will demand the future will reveal. Nations and lives can be preserved

through conformity to the demands made for progress. The others, until the full truth is grasped, must go now and in the future as in the past. The order is inexorable. Despotism gave way to modified monarchy, monarchy gives way to republicanism, republicanism to limited democracy, limited democracy to self-government in its fullness. The less, the partial truths giving way, ultimately, though in hindered march and with many reverses, to the fuller and more complete truths. History has written it so. The heart of man demands it so. The laws of God have established it so.

That corruption and disease are working in the political and social organism of our nation we cannot fail to see. He who shuts his eyes to their presence, seeking no change, is like an ulcerous man who wraps his clothing over his sores and says: "I am a whole man and there is no unsoundness in me,"—and takes no thought for the healing of his body while the lusterless eye and not-to-be-hidden pallor of countenance tell plainly to the world of the hidden decay that saps the strength he boasts. We are not, in many desirable ways what we were, nor are we what we should be. The state of our industries and the conditions governing distribution, the two gauges of a country's economic prosperity, are an unsparing condemnation of our policy. Conditions of inequality was the mistake of the past. It is the mistake of the present.

The world has not witnessed before the opportunity of America, the golden opportunity of settling in just and practicable way the time-old question of human power over and in connection with the rights of humanity. Perhaps it will not witness in the future as it has certainly not witnessed in the past, a parallel to the rapidity with which we have fallen away from the high standard of human rights, once having so clear a conception of the

relation of these rights to just, and therefore stable forms of government. Nor has the world's history recorded a like concentration of wealth and power or force of classism in so short a time.

The wayfaring man, be he as great a fool as he pleases, should be able to read the signs of the times if he will but earnestly and honestly set himself to do it, so plainly do they stare us in the face. He who reads them not, be he fool or otherwise, he who reads them wrongly, or reading them for their true worth would give them other than their due weight of consideration, comprehending them and their import would for any motive dare to complicate the disorders they evidence by not most earnestly endeavoring to help untangle the vexed skein, is an enemy to the common good. Strikes, riots and starvations,—a brief but comprehensive record of our industrial progress and state of late years. This not because the human heart is inherently wicked and humanity slothful and indifferent to the obligations of nature, but because the fear of want makes pretexts for plunderings and oppression, and because men have not yet learned to guard their rights. Not that labor whose aim is the fashioning of wealth forms loves their destruction and hindrance, but that many things grievous to be borne are presented with all the respectability of truth that are no-truths and falseness within and without.

It is growing beyond the point of endurance by a class of laborers educated as the American laborer has been. It has grown beyond what should be the point of endurance with any class of laborers. The social standing of the workers, governed by their political and economic importance, is the surest criterion of national stability and soundness. When that standing sinks to a lower level as ours has and is still doing, when labor declines into the realm of servitude where there is no compensation but

that granting the barest subsistence, society should demand a fairer adjustment of economic forces. Society may determine such laws to govern the productive industries as will enable workers to present to the world an appearance of dignified freemen, a condition essential to the prosperity and endurance of the state. Labor groveling in hunger, half-clothed, creatures of forbearance and charity, belong to the past, yet to-day we find the class much poorer in relative wealth possession than was the class hundreds of years ago, less valued than in the past. Then human kind in the humble walks were cherished as a necessary part of the social organism. Then human labor was valuable and consequential because it was the only kind obtainable and the hirer must needs hire men; now machinery does the work and the employer buys machines and men are cast out in numbers as cumbrous clogs to the wheels of industrial progress.

We must reform our industrial system. If we do not it will reform itself, and Heaven save us from such necessity, from such a reformation as that may be. A suffering and unreckoning class, feeling somehow and somewhere they are being done an injustice, and without considering circumstances and causes of existing evils or the reasonable and legitimate way of redress, have, very often, only one idea of redress after protest has failed. The wronged workers of America have protested, not once, but many times. The protests may not have been of the most discreet and exemplary forms, as has been charged. Hunger and desperation often lack discretion and exemplary patience. That matters not in the true consideration of this form of grievance. Enough that the protests have been submitted, one memorable one at Homestead, another memorable, too, at Chicago, another yet more memorable in many ways, in the coal fields in '97. Enough; more than enough that the protests having been duly submitted

should be treated with indifference and scorn, execration. They protested the best they knew, forcibly and earnestly. Yea, with deadly and long-to-be remembered force and earnestness. Greater earnestness can no man show than that which causes him to lay down his life for a principle. Those demonstrations being happily passed, and because the sky is clear above and the air zephyr-like in soft assurance of safety, fancy not that the little clouds skulking on the horizon are at play. There are the powers of destruction and death, often, in clouds as innocent. When they rush together and cleave fast in a union of mad discords, look to your storm caves for the high will be made low, and what does not bend must break. When earth severs the bonds that unite and draw heavenward, rushing hellward, and mingles the elements of determination with the elements of fury, sobs and curses blend in the composition of their sphere music. Out of this union proceeds a new creation, but oh, soul of man misguided and bruised, what pains of nature attend the birth.

Another protest, known as the French Revolution, occurred a century ago. It started from less immediate cause than did the Chicago riot. The French started out to reform a state of affairs they had every reason to fear would grow worse as that had been the direction of affairs in their land for many years. They accomplished their reform as the world knows and as certain Frenchmen who needed reforming experienced at the time. The methods of the reformers, though criticised, show two things—what men can do and what they will do if wrong prove too stubborn to yield to less earnestness. The workingmen at Chicago sought a change in a business condition they felt to be longer insupportable. Looking at the provocation of the workers and contrasting it with the spirit manifested by their opposers, the most remarkable feature of that complication is that a reign of terror did

not grow out of it. The spirit of revolution and rebellion against manifest wrongs was never more justified than there. This spirit was not composed into apparent subjection wholly, nor in great part, through fear and respect of the forces of government invoked. Desperate men are not calmed so. Other power than show of military strength quelled and helped to quell that memorable protest. The surest and most potent influence over the actions of great classes is their consciousness of strength to correct wrongs. When the time for an actual test arrives they do not shrink the trial nor fear the outcome.

Submission is not the word for the day. In former days this was the teaching to the under classes. Usually the elementary lesson was presented in the hangman's noose or headsman's ax. But the pupil sometimes proved so apt and took the lesson so well to heart that he reversed the application and turned tutor to his masters who in turn were made to accept the disagreeable fact that unrestricted power carries liberty that amounts to license. The workingmen in most countries to-day, and particularly in America, have no such lessons to repudiate, their class of earlier times having done the pioneer work in this line for them. The idea of individual worth instilled into their minds through many agencies gives them a point of vantage that places them immeasurably in advance of their class in the not yet remote past. Again, of this, can it be said to be peculiarly true of the American worker whose teaching of a hundred years and more has been to this end. His ancestors came to the wilderness and subjugated it for this purpose. If they came not so, they came by invitation after the greatest victory for independence in all social rights had been won, or he himself came in this way. These teachings of more than a hundred years, borne in upon the American mind by inheritance and assurance, proclaiming the rights divine of the King Man

to a voice in all affairs in which he is concerned and his immeasurable value as one indispensable unit in a great whole have been well taken to heart. This is no small item in the general account when its effects on the national mind are considered. It is one that must be entered, for it is well grasped to be well expounded and acted upon by this king when the times demand. Those who teach equality and practice oppression should heed this. They cannot afford to affect surprise if the people materialize the claims ever insisted upon for them.

We may think many of the demonstrations and uprisings of labor unwarranted; some even profess to do so at all times. It is not without its parallel. King John considered the demands of his barons as altogether unwarranted and an offense to his kingly prerogative to oppress and rob, and his royal feelings were much outraged by his forced surrender, if there be truth in history. In like manner when the English commons began to clamor for recognition all who had been in authority over them felt aggrieved. So however it may be viewed it must be known that the demonstrations of labor represent and in a manner express labor's views, let those get comfort from this who may, those take warning who must. That many of the movements for a better relation appear at the present to be fruitless should neither discourage the one nor encourage the other. The records of past agitations show reverses as well as victories in all fields of progress. The gains of the present are not for us alone. We build for the future more than we do for the now; we enjoy the crudities our ideas realize for us, but the future will experience the completer realization of the good they are meant to convey. What the influence of agitations now being carried on will exercise in the future relations of labor and capital, of labor and distribution, cannot now be told. Certainly it will be beneficial to a de-

gree. The English commons knew not the magnitude of the victory they had won. At the time none saw that the concessions they gained would bring forth the freer political life as expressed in modern representation.

Years before the Bastile fell and years before the French people had ceased to hail a Louis as the savior and regenerator of France an eminent observer from a foreign land wrote that there were to be seen throughout the land of the Frank all the symptoms of a revolution that history had evidenced in times and nations of the past. The oppressions, extortions, on the part of those in power, the restlessness and sullenness of the masses spoke audible prophecy to the earnest listening ear, but the tones were unheeded by those grown stupid through excess of plunder and gross through drunkenness of classism. When that thunderbolt shot through the depths of a clear and seemingly calm sky it carried echoes to the remotest places of civilized man. The foundations of political institutions were shaken by its force and thrones of kings and tyrants in all realms of social life shook with those prolonged reverberations. That event is not altogether of the past, nor are its blessings to be lost sight of in a contemplation of its horrors. The inflammable Frenchman is scarcely more tow-like than the cosmopolitan American. From the nature of tradition and relative conditions the provocation in France a hundred years ago was not so great as in this land to-day. Frenchmen were hanged when they dared petition, but French society was founded on the basis that made the heads of offenders to play at nine pins in the game of royalty. Americans have been hanged for talking under a constitution that guarantees the right of free speech. Those sharing American protection have been shot for marching, under the same charter that also guarantees the right of peaceable assembly. There are signs in abundance in this land

now and parallels with past social conditions and agitations strong enough to engage the thought of even the apologist.

He who oppresses the hireling in his wages is in no land without his defenders. Laws, the operation of which give to monopolization the substance of labor always commands apologists. But there is one class of American economists that is perplexing, seeming to be purely a product of American institutions. To maintain that as tax collections argue the ability to pay taxes, therefore high tax rates show a prosperous economic state is a unique position for any body of people to take. To hold that inasmuch as we are more fortunate than some we should at once proceed to grow less fortunate in order to demonstrate our good fortune shows to what extremity the apologists will be pushed in defense of a wrong order. Will the class permit an appeal in Reason's name? If so, in this same name, why should not American labor be better conditioned than old-world labor? The ingenuity of the defender and the apologist cannot show a valid reason why it should be otherwise. America, the opportunity of the ages and the land which in the fullness of time came forth to satisfy the demands of human kind—demands for better political, physical and moral conditions—that any should have been able to discern even the trace of a parallel and comparison is both humiliating and disgraceful to us. Old-world society, church-ridden, government-ridden, ignorance-ridden,—and yet the apologist informs us, that, wonderful to say, America is not so badly conditioned as is the old world, and therefore not so badly as it is possible to be. And the defender, not to be outdone, solemnly assures us that unless we accept old-world orders and middle-age barbarisms we shall arrive

at the same point these systems have brought the old world to.

What a dreary lot of comforters such are. It is a sad doctrine, that which teaches that nations must have their beggar foundations down deep in the mire of human misery on which to build society. It is a doctrine of lies as well. It is a hell's doctrine that will reduce all who accept it to the state from which it originates. The defender and apologist more lament our prosperity and opportunity for success than our lack of either. It is in the nature of such comforters. If we could only rid ourselves of them, if occasion for them would grow less, or be made to grow less, happy would it be for us.

If the observer contents and consoles himself by saying there are no causes but in imaginary wrongs for the demonstrations late years have shown and which are unparalleled in our history, he must know that even this view presents no remedy for the trouble. How much of real, how much of imaginary wrongs there must be in an order that condemns many people to hopeless, deadening destitution to create millions in the control of one, let him not say if he wishes to be consistent. There will ever be found fish-wives to rail at the wriggings of the eel which is being skinned, striking it on the head and crying "down." As well there will ever be those who say, "The public be damned." Only, men do not wrestle and fight and lay down their lives and lives' hopes for an imagination. The heart of man is not deceived so much as that. With those who look and work for a better day for all, the wrongs they seek to abolish are very real. To those who never felt the hurt of injustice its pains are purely imaginary, but they who have suffered know the beginning and end with equal distinctness. Mankind are judges between the real and the imaginary. It is the

reality of justice toward which they advance with struggling efforts in all generations.

As wage payers, the impression made on capital by the turmoils engrossing universal attention has been that of neither intimidation nor softening. Monopoly-capital was never more aggressive. If the burdens ease a little occasionally it is not because the taskmasters have been moved by fear or pity, but because a victory has been won in part, although bitterly contested by the enemy to equal prosperity. These small triumphs are of briefest duration and the business world soon swings back to the path so well beaten by the ages of travel therein. Then other shifts are made and other burdens are imposed and other complications encountered until the partial revivals of industry are again checked by a situation unforeseen and to be overcome only by resorting to other shifts imposing other checks. Stimulations of production entail limitations of consumption, restrictions follow after liberties in an endless succession. It will be so while distribution suffers the impediments imposed by a false system of rewards. Capital is more blameless than the system entailing the irregularities.

Half-way measures result in partial victories which do not continue. Many of the partial victories won seem now to be reversed and consuming classism appears stronger than ever. The powers established for the preservation of the rights of all seem to have developed into agencies for the further oppression of the weak. It is well that it is so, for partial victories too often give a feeling of security that is false in every particular. The ultimate victory of the people must be comprehensive of rights long held in abeyance and never fully recognized; it must likewise observe equalities which are now recognized in theory alone. Partial victories do not last in beneficence.

Applied in the industrial world they are inadequate to maintain the existent rate of division in profits between the power of capital and the weakness of labor. They are utterly impotent to meet the demands of our constantly increasing needs. Good in themselves, they are not sufficient for a day as relief for the conditions they are meant to improve. Half-way measures are only outposts, which if relied upon solely, soon are more than recovered by the opposition. Unless progress be made ahead, when the added needs of a growing population and changing conditions crowd wages and opportunities down to the old dead-level that marks the danger line, another shift must be made or worse stagnation, worse discontent follows, because our demands are greater.

If relief does not come in the line of straightforward progress it will come some other way. Any way will be victory so the shackles that bind labor are loosed, but there are victories that nations must weep over,—and are at that better than no victories. Men will endure much and suffer the absence of many things which they should possess, but they cannot starve when food is to be had. They will not do so, nor is it right for them to do so; they will starve only when food ceases or when the power to get or create it ceases. They may starve themselves and children for a while, but not always. So, too, will they proceed in the control of other things quite as essential as bread. The world has seen bread riots and political riots that got for the rioters bread in the first and recognized rights in the second instances. It has seen revolutions that it now reaps benefits from, even though the cost was seemingly great at the time. Past conditions suited to past needs are too limited for the present and much more limited for the future state of the race. Outgrown customs and orders must give way, peacefully or

otherwise, to the new ones adapted to the new and increasing needs.

The future is the hope of the philanthropist in all fields, and a better hope, better opportunities, better life are held in fulfillment of the promise of coming years. Not then will it be so hard as impossible for strength and intelligence to win a decent living, which it is now sometimes and somewhere. In that bright age lives will not be cramped to build up a wealth power. Not then as now will venal congressmen and bargain-counter senators bicker for personal favors in legislative proceedings while the business interests of the country stand stagnant from their indecision. No; what legislatures and congresses will do in that golden era will be the work they were appointed to do. Then disproportionate strength will not be delegated to any class of people and the disproportionate results we now experience will have no part in the wisdom-ruled society.

We say this is a goodly land to live in. True; much better than many to be named. Perhaps the best in the world in some respects. Yet this is no reason why it should not be better still, the very best it is possible to be made, which it is not now. It is not enough that we can say we are better conditioned than others while that better is not the best it can be made. If the masters of industrial opportunities and those who make conditions governing all classes could come to know that the highest interests of one class are identical with those of all others and dependent on them, that all interests of a single individual are identical with the same interests of all humanity, we might be saved much that does not work direct good. The economic interests of employer and employé for a single generation appear to be in direct opposition as the world divides profits, but the lower must be subordinated to the

higher, and there is a higher for all than only profits. It is a lesson worth long striving and earnest teaching. It must be learned some day, and the community of interests, prosperity and power be recognized and established or our country come to have her name written on that page of history whose title is Anarchy.

CHAPTER IX.

REMEDIES.

There is small hope of temporary relief and no hope for permanent lightening of labor's overburdens in the commonly proposed remedies. Conservative and half-measure demands have met with but slightly qualified failure. Their record condemns them as unfit, mere shifts resulting in no visible gain. Compromises and forced relations as age qualifications, time qualifications, regulated wages and the like have gained but little for those in whose behalf their agitation was begun and continues. This little is negative rather than positive, consisting in a slight staying of the downward tendency of wages more than in an increase of reward to labor. Their efficacy must be conjectured since it cannot be proven nor disproven. We know the general condition of labor to be sinking to a lower level. How much the efforts put forth to stay this fall may have retarded or lessened the decline cannot be said; just where labor would have been by this time without these efforts cannot be known. At the best that can be said for them they have not preserved the relative standing, they have not accomplished justice between the two economic classes. Since they have failed in this, the vital aim of all such efforts, they must lack a vital principle, classing them with half-ways, dangerously deceptive to those who trust in them. Holding out a promise of much that cannot be gained through their agency and being less than they seem to be they are doomed by the very order of nature and their own insufficiency to complete and not distant abandonment.

Strikes are finally impotent. All attempts to force capital have failed. A minor and temporary advantage may at times appear gained, but the press of narrowing opportunities augmented by competition in labor soon renders these slight advantages void. The unhealthfulness and unnaturalness of strife between the capitalistic and labor factions are sure destroyers of their highest good. Harmony must prevail if the best interests of both are regarded, but harmony and prosperity will not follow present relations. They have not attended the past, therefore they will not be present in the future unless relations ever begetting inharmony be set aside. Acquiescence in prevailing orders will not bring harmony, for in the face of strongest protest and most determined effort to preserve the rights of the weak, injustice perseveres. Acquiescing with prevailing conditions is therefore dangerous. The wisdom of the world demands a change in the orders that entail discontent.

By strikes, which have been a favorite weapon of labor in the past, usually little is gained and much lost by the strikers. The loss in production and productive force is lamentably great. This loss, from the nature of the economic relations existing between the two industrial classes is a service to labor in the absorption of forms of production already in the manufactory, warehouse or shop. After this reserve is lessened and reduced to a mark where production will be more profitable, capital is ready to concede a part of the demands of labor so that production may again proceed. If labor, before this point in consumption is reached, be not starved into submission, capital in its power of resistance and labor in its weakness to hold out may meet in some form of compromise and work resumes. The actual loss to labor is infinite in relation to strength. The actual loss to capital is finite in comparison with strength. The loss of labor is bread,

of capital profits. Never is the loss of the latter more than temporary, to be more than recovered, usually. The loss of the first may be and frequently is permanent in the plant where the laborer has been so bold as to refuse capital's terms.

The gain of strikes as means of adjusting industrial and economic inequalities is, as said, sometimes a small concession in a few minor points at stake or a compromise on the main points. So rarely has the main point been sustained in entirety that an occasional triumph only serves to establish the rule by introducing the exception. The losses are usually, money, time, employment, good will and confidence in themselves, their striking brethren, their own power to command justice by peaceful means and faith in the just intentions of the world in general. Great and lamentable losses are all these, but the last named much greater and more regrettable than any other, than all the others. One that occasions more sorrow and actual suffering than any other to be mentioned. To go to the root of matters it is the occasion for strikes and their full cause as well as the prime origin of conditions that work such disasters. Confidence is the great moving force in the world of economic effort as well as in other realms of human intercourse and dependence and an assurance of justice is all that is needed to work harmony there as elsewhere.

By strikes supported by half-way measures in legislative attempts to preserve the worker's rights, labor has been able to just keep above the dead level of wage slavery toward which our one-sided competitive system constantly urges. Strikes and legislative orders have not availed to check that drift—they have only removed the day a little in which strikes become impossible through inability of workers to strike. The contraction of avenues to self-employment and the constant decrease of wages in general

move steadily to a situation where labor is hopeless in the face of further encroachments. Labor has not by all tried means been able to control a proportionate share of the wealth that has been called into form under the deft fingers of workers united to the advantages secured by capital. Labor's interests cannot be guarded by such methods. It is not in the nature of one-sided competition where the advantage and strength of resistance are all on one side.

There are too many standing idle in the market places of labor to render strikes longer efficient or even safe to the aggrieved. There are too many with whom necessity has severed those ties of brotherhood that once made the entire wage and work world rally to the support of any particular body of workers who felt themselves to a point where justice and manly independence dictated a cessation of work until an honorable adjustment of differences could be arrived at. The law governing hunger is the gaining of food, and where one lays down the tools now another is ready to take them up to use them with all the skill possessed and with all the assiduity of the first. This he will do for the pay his predecessor felt he could no longer receive for the services rendered.

Trades-unions and organizations of a like nature have added their share of power in staying the process of lowering wages. But results of unions are only a fraction in the general sum of what must be wrought. Trades-unions to be appreciably effective must embrace the whole body of workers. To keep up wages there must be none outside the organization to bid against the unionists. This end is not easily accomplished and is one that would vitiate the active principle of unions under present regulations. There are workers who will not organize, and who being not under bonds to stand for a certain rate of wages will work for less than union rates. This destroys the effect

of unions. However useful such organizations may have been in the past, their day too, is over. Boycotts, the right hand of trades-unions, are of a time gone by. The industrial organism is too complex and far-reaching in action and unorganized labor and increasing population too uncontrollable to make orders of this kind effective. By the action and reaction of consumption affecting production and production in general distribution affecting consumption, any effort at exclusively class benefits must fail for class benefits must depend upon general prosperity. Farmers cannot prosper unless there be a demand for their products. Mechanics cannot command farm products unless they receive wages. Wages in the mechanic arts will always exactly correspond to the degree to which workers in these industries are able to command wages independently of employing capital. These wages, experience shows, will generally reflect to a degree the state of trade by an added amount representing the competition for laborers in all fields of industry. This competition will cease utterly when all opportunities have been closed if population has reached a point where there are more workers than the controllers of opportunities find necessary to carry on production.

Attempts at force through strikes, organizations and proscriptions accomplish nothing as finalities; their potency is waning now to the point of eclipse. The game is with capital-monopoly for the advantages are there. Capital-monopoly, and even capital alone as matters now stand, can starve out labor many times a year and still do a thriving business. This is in part due to the disorganized state of labor, largely to the natural and unnatural strength of capital given by virtue of monopolizing power and in fact of monopolized opportunities.

An intelligent and consistent use of the powers for correction of all social evils as these powers reside in the

people will be found the only avenue to reform. A leveling of opportunities and a steadfast abiding therein will be found necessary to a continuing of reforms. The power for correction is exercised at the polls. Back of the ballot expression lies the power in the rights of mankind. These powers the monopoly forces can be made to feel and respect, liking it or not. The all-power must be brought to bear on the situation. It is out of all experience and beyond all belief that time-entrenched wrongs will yield by persuasion and pity the advantages they have grasped and exercise to the detriment of all but the holders. In the records of history we find no such proceedings. They know no pity for the unfortunate; they prosper by the failure of others; some, many, must fall that they may mount higher in the realizations of their unholy aspirations. The few who would deal fairly are restrained from doing so by the system which makes them to practice relations they cannot escape and survive. They are bound by the injustice governing our industrial organism and only in part can they share the fair measure of common responsibility. The vital conditions they cannot alter. The many who have no thought for justice know nothing convincing or persuading but urges them on toward further gains. They will yield not until compelled to do so by the determined demands of the supreme majesty of the people.

Every voter in the land remains responsible for inequalities that continue. It is true this means has failed us often, that many times the ones to whom we looked for relief disappointed us dismally, to all effects, sold out to the enemy. So far as virtual relief was affected it mattered not very greatly, for we have asked for but little; and even that little was denied us. The means failed because we applied it in a half-hearted manner. There is not a bargain-counter senator in the land who would keep

the business world in suspense while he caucuses and wrangles over the rate of duty on collars and cuffs, if he in so doing jeopardis his office and standing. There is not to be convened a congressional bucket-shop for speculation and manipulation of prices in the peoples' necessities if experience could show that such assemblages would be succeeded by men who have a higher conception of a public office than that which converts it into a business transaction wherein he is shrewdest who commands the highest price. The way is still open for redress and reform of all social wrongs by the exercise of the rights of free men. Change in social conditions will not come while the actions of the past in legislative operations are held as the ideal of the future.

No, friend, the way you suggest by that determined shake of the head and low muttering voice is not good. It would be good if there were no better way, no other way at all. Your way, of any two, would be the coward's way, the oppressor's way, causing others to suffer as much as you have suffered. It is the last way, not to be considered until all others have failed. Fire and blood are both good, but in their proper places; the first under boilers that set the wheels turning and belts whirring a healthy music; the second is good in the strong arms and clear brains of master workers whose deftness of touch and delicacy of perception create those wonders of ingenuity that crown our civilization. Swift-handed justice and satisfactory restitution are yours in another way, more creditable to yourself, and more humane, more just to all. It is clear you have asked for what you were promised, and were then denied, flouted. It is plain you were misled, tricked; sane men, patriots and workers would never vote for the condition we find ourselves in as a nation

of workers. But you can force your servants by prescribed methods, to do what you require of them.

That little flag by which you have been deceived, believing it to be a truce emblem, with its white of life on one side, its black of death mingled with the peace signal on the other, must wave to another purpose, and with greater decision. It is your signal emblem to those with whom you treat and by it you express your choice of fate, yes, even your determination toward those who have failed you. When you are called to fold it up and lay it away in the holy of holies where you as high priest enter alone, see to it that you are not misunderstood, that you and your brother may not again earn the classification of voting cattle. See to it that your enemies understand that it can flutter to another and more unmistakable purpose than they supposed if the powers you create dare show defiance to your sovereign decision. The power to make or mar is yours and you are responsible for your own conditions. Otherwise you are not a free man. If you must accept simply what is offered you, where is your freedom? Believe it not when it is said you cannot help yourself. Your great trouble is that you have helped yourself too much—the other way. Hence you are where you are and not where you would like to be. That your conditions have been hard hitherto and are growing harder constantly you must answer for. When you have wearied of them to a degree where you will assert your right supported by your might your conditions will modify. They will respond in exact degree to the energy, determination and direction in which you move. To you as guardian of your own rights, be the issue as you decide.

It can be done. If you have life and not mere plasticity it will be done. Do you know, my friend of the franchise right, you have laid yourself open to the charge of indecision and purchasability? It is said you are variable in

your choice, that your variability often hinges on your venality. The charge is solemnly made, aside from partisan bickerings, that in fear of losing employment and by other means of intimidation, and for reasons yet more flagrantly venal you have voted for men to guide the policy of state whom in your heart you rejected and with whose policies you were at utter variance; that you have in times given over your interests into the keeping of those you have believed to be your enemies. If this be true, and the charges are established to all but the point of absolute proof, then you but reap after the kind you have scattered. Insincerity in no realm eventuates in sincerity, farthest from all in the realm of politics. Know at all times that the man who offers a bribe in any form soever is your enemy. If food and shelter are to be won at the price of your integrity now, the time draws toward us when the sale of your honor will cease to command even this small price. You will then, even as now, accept such wages as are offered you without a promise of better, which promise, no matter what priceless privilege you sacrificed for it, you have failed to realize.

If it is to the interests of one man to bribe many, it is against the interests of those bribed; otherwise you would not be hired to vote contrary to your will and judgment but would be left to be convinced by reason and the course of events to come to a different understanding. The bribe giver expects to make a profit off your votes as he would expect a profit off his money invested in live stock or railroad shares. You may be made promises but your trust in these promises has not been strengthened by experience. Insincerity, evil, deception, bring forth insincerity, evil and deception, world without end. If the vote seeker who resorts to fraud to capture the law-making, law-executing, and yea, law-interpreting forces of the land tricks the vender of votes no charge of breach of faith can

be preferred. Faith cannot exist between such parties. Let it be known that established monopolizations and moneyed powers offer no inducements to labor for votes in favor of the men who would compel a more equitable distribution of the profits of industry. It has never been so. If you accept the promise of employment for the barter of the badge of citizenship or allow the hope of like reward to corruptly influence your use of the priceless conservator of your liberties, it may be you will have to resort to other means to restore the blessings you have bargained off for such poor pottage. You cannot buy them back by your present way. If you continue to make merchandise of the ballot you will continue to be tricked. Such a franchise is not respected by any, least of all by the powers exercising corrupt control over it. The ballot power rightly exercised is a sufficient guarantee and safeguard of our liberties. Its pollution results in the contempt of plutocracy for the element wielding it and for all elements the purchasable ones may be made to represent.

No iron hand is necessary to regulate the disturbed social equilibrium of our land. All is not lost, nor even an alarming amount of the civil power of the citizen. The powers of government as vested in the American citizen have been crippled and curtailed because Americans have not guarded their rights; rights of commonalty have been trampled and spat upon only because the people have not enough respected their own importance. No impartial consideration can find more cause of complaint against the desecrators of the temple of liberty than against the keepers who permit their entrance and possession. Vigilance on the part of the people would have prevented the abuses from which we now suffer; vigilance and determined action now would abate them. All are not venal, all are not traitors. There are patriots in

the land to serve it if there be patriots enough to support them in getting back to first principles. It is child's inconsistency and pettishness to barter a pearl for a soap bubble and then cry if the bubble realizes less than it seemed to our wondering anticipation to promise. Workers who sell votes on any construction of a promise of wages should not grow indignant, should not entertain surprise if shops close. Bribe proffering is no less despicable than bribe taking and the man who is traitor enough to offer compensation for votes should not be supposed to possess that kind of integrity that will secure the pay for vote sellers after the goods have been delivered. Constituencies returning to legislative halls men who have proven corrupt cannot look for honesty in legislation. Such representatives will prove no more vigilant warders of liberty than are the people who elect them to their places of power.

To the citizens, free men of America, has the keeping of her greatness and integrity been consigned. There is no power known to make a people greater, nobler, juster, than their own hearts dictate and acts determine. The destiny of this land, as of all lands, is to be fashioned by its people.

Do you know, your most supreme plutocratic indifference, that there are hoarse murmurings and deep rumblings in this sea of humanity about you that may portend something to you and the course you have sought to run? It is not well to be so high up as to be out of touch with the human elements of our world and upon whom we must depend in all things. If your supreme plutocratic indifference would lend an occasional ear from the music of money changing to the deep heart throbs and swift thoughts that flash from mind to mind in the common level and those levels lower down that run in strong un-

dercurrents manifested by casual whirls on the surface, you might hear things that would supersede your concentration on cash. Perhaps, having heard this other chorus, you would be wise enough to carry less sail and be more content to run with the tide than seek rather to outstrip the powers that bear you up.

It is not merely surface deep, as has been attempted consolation and courage with that assertion. Nor is it the dregs, scum, and filth you have been so persistently declaring. If it were these it might merit the contempt you bestow upon it. You have attempted some wise things and have succeeded in accomplishing some foolish things in your contempt. Some few years ago, by action of court, there were a few men hanged in this land because they exercised what to them seemed the free speech provision of our charter. Hanging may be a good thing for anarchy, doubtless, but you have heard how words change in use and acceptance. Their language was considered anarchistic in those days so short a time ago. Elevation calls attention whether the elevation be by a throne or a hangman's scaffold. So anarchy, so-called in that day, being elevated, challenged attention as to whether it was what it was hanged for or no. Thought is electrical and the pace set by that court is too rapid to keep up with. It would take a considerable gallows to accommodate all of those who this day think and speak in stronger terms than were used in the memorable Haymarket, and man for man, it would take an army of hangmen to strangle "anarchy" by cords to-day. There are better, safer ways of appeasing anarchy, severer, surer ways of choking it. That is the way of killing its cause. The task by the first method is too extensive. Do you not see anarchy, unnamed as such even by cant term of political phrase building, in the daily and weekly, even other prints of the times? It is there, my friend, in the

irrepressible thought expression of gravely earnest men. You will hear more of it than you can read, if you will listen. It is talked on the streets, in shops, in homes—everywhere in groups of workers employed, would-be-workers unemployed. This thing that you have named anarchy has not been strangled along with those who were said to have voiced it. If the whole world turn anarchistic then must anarchy go unhung for lack of a hangman and other means must be found to strangle and appease anarchy.

They do not call it anarchy. They more fitly name it revolution, looking to a restoration of privileges. They have not yet determined in what form it must come but they confidently expect it. The Iron Hand is only thinly gloved and its grip will be death to those who force its grasp, for they say if need makes necessary, it is nobler and carries a promise of salvation to the rest that a few score thousand men should meet death face to face in a matching of strength than that a like number should perish annually of starvation. The world would call it nobler, too; has ever called such resolution and such death nobler than the wearing out of existence that comes to those who wait for the crumbs that fall from the table of usurped privileges.

The question that should be of greatest interest to your most supreme plutocratic indifference is, Must the change inevitable come this way? The spirit of freedom is not dead, nor so much as crushed; it only sleeps, and that in fitful restlessness that threatens, yea, promises instantaneous awakening. That awakening precedes one of two things—the peaceful restoration of usurped and abused power, or its restoration to the people by other than peaceful ways. The one thing sure to follow the arousing is a restoration. Your most supreme plutocratic indifference may be able to say from whom those powers will be

wrested in the restoration. None should be more interested. A gracious acquiescence in the demands of awakened freemen will do much to promote the felicity of the restoration inevitable. Commissions appointed to investigate the relations of the hired to the hirer are an acknowledgment of the need of rightful conditions governing the two extremes of society and the tacit confession of the insufficiency of the present system to meet the requirements of our industrial state. They are a confession of the necessity for a change in our industrial scheme.

The drift of affairs does not assure labor of humane intentions on the part of capital. When capital reënforced by monopoly persistently reduces wages and binds labor to continue work or forfeit wages already earned, there seems little hope of accomplishing reforms through the support and coöperation of the masters of labor. When the monopoly masters of labor sit in the high places of the nation's legislature the hope of reforms that way seems little grounded. That the same masters after having forced labor into slave-wage contracts should seek to place the whole burden of blame for labor disturbances on the responsibility of labor is not in itself pleasing and confidence inspiring. Under a system of industry dividing humanity into two classes, laborers and the hirers of labor, the control of production rests with the latter and the wage paid is of their will also. It is not hard to understand; production will proceed when masters find it profitable, wages will be low for laborers can not employ themselves. It does not do to rest the case on the common statement that production will proceed as demands justify and that wages will be governed accordingly. There are too many limitations affecting demand where so large a portion of the consuming class are wage workers and where monopolization has placed the re-

serves beyond the reach of laborers. In such conditions capital must pay living wages or worse follow. Men must live if the power to command life necessities does come by way of wages paid for application of labor to opportunities held and operated by capital.

There is much to be said in the behalf of capital, and for the good done and still in hand no patriot or lover of right spares words of praise. The rights of the capitalists are sacred; sacred as the rights of all others, the rights of the class equal to those of any class. But the rights only, which never injured a member of society. It is the special privileges that capital has arrogated and that labor has conceded that work the injury. This much remains to be said beyond all claims for the proper offices of capital: capital, as the term is broadly used to cover those interests in industry distinct from labor, has through the appropriation of natural resources aided by legislative favoritism gotten control of production and the means of production. The power, field wide, is all but absolute; in particular places, complete from point of law as law now stands. Capital in some form, perhaps devoted to speculative purposes, owns the land, so the man who does not own land may not cut wood from it though his children be freezing. He may not put in a garden if his family be starving, unless he pays rent which out of the produce on three acres he may be left what stands on two or one, according to the terms he may be able to make. He may not go to work in the factory, for capital erected the plant, and although the world may need the product of his hands, there he may not work if capital refuses him a place. He cannot sail a ship; he cannot drive a locomotive engine across the plains, transferring goods from point to point where they are most wanted; capital owns and controls these means of transportation, and though mankind may be

robbed in rates by present management, none may take control and conduct them for the good of society for they are capital's. In contemplation of all these facts does no rational remedy disclose itself? Man, if you were cast into deep water a mile from shore, being an expert swimmer you would preserve your life. If you had tied to you a weight that would prevent your making more than a fourth of the distance to safety you would cut the bonds that unite you to that weight, letting it sink to the bottom while you rose buoyant, triumphant, setting out with steady, confident stroke to the shore. You would disconnect yourself from the burden if it were one of gold and jewels precious beyond compare in the world's valuation, for against their value in the world's estimation to you they are not worth clinging to, because you measure them against life. How much more would you cast away the weight if it was the body of a dead beast, corrupting your own flesh, profitless even to itself.

From point of law as law now stands, labor has no alternative but that of sitting down to patient starvation when capital ties the string of the wage purse and locks up establishments of productions. This is a point labor commissions would do well to note when investigations are set on foot, looking to the cause of social unrest. Having thus control, if labor peacefully submits, it takes off the keen edge of capital's grief at the unhappy situation. If force and riotous protests are resorted to the gentle humanity and sky-scraping patriotism of the great big heart of capital is violently shocked. Capital hopes labor will submit to arbitration when labor asks for arbitration. Capital is surprised that labor does not take a more dispassionate view of the case, that labor does not quietly and humanely starve on the reduction of wages that has been found necessary to capital's gains. Because the great body of consumers have no money they cannot

buy the products of capital's offering, therefore labor must fast until some shift can be hit upon to start commercial machinery when consumers have failed to demand and business has reached a motionless condition.

Capital locks up the money of a nation as too dear for the common touch, and then locks up shops because the commonalty does not demand wares. This done, labor is bade hold peace and feed on faith till better times, till prosperity and confidence take us under their wings as hens their broods, till government revenues are produced from deficits and all grow rich through workings of monopoly fostering laws. This is not the sum of the laborer's duties under the beneficent operation of monopoly discriminations. After waiting for the realization of good times under monopoly control and good wages to follow the ability of hirers to pay good wages, he is to behold the competition in labor markets that still further reduces his ability to earn a livelihood by the only means open to him. Degraded labor such as has been drawing to a residence within our borders shuts him out in many fields in which he formerly ruled. He is thrown out because having been reared and educated to be a man he cannot consent to fill a place that would sink him to the level of a brute. This is what competition in the labor market will reduce him to if competition be unrelieved by openings that will permit the spreading out of productive forces. This is what he has been forced to accept at times even now, because, God help him, life is dear and the lives of his children dearer yet. And under it all he is asked to be calm, dispassionate; to await with unflinching trust the action of the very forces that have placed him where he is; to abide such adjustment of the difficulties as will leave his masters in industry in a position to continue the role of masters, strengthened in their mas-

tership. These are the ways, he is told, by which he will best conserve his own interests.

If you read the press of your country, your most supreme plutocratic indifference, you must occasionally see some remarkable accounts if your curiosity in all save that which most openly concerns your cause leads you away from stock reports and the like. Turning to those pages recording the world's history in tragedy, some worthy news may be found. If you have missed these columns, too bad. Their message will give you some idea as to the actual condition of the labor you say is the best paid in the world. You might be able to gather many things from these records that would account for the, to you, inexplicable acts and demands of the working world. You might learn of the results following your advice to workers who wait for better times for wages and bread. These records tell to the rest of mankind, no matter how indifferent you are to them, of suicides to avoid starvation; of things worse than suicide to avoid starvation; losses of reason from hunger; how fathers scourged by desperation at their state will take the lives of whole families,—these and such other tales to sicken the heart and cause grave people who are dispassionate with the reflecting calmness of those personally untouched by the sadder phases of our industrial wrongs to demand why these things should occur and whence their cause. This sort of news matter is not scarce even in the papers, but the reading world knows the cases chronicled are few compared to the number of events of this kind which really take place. More unnatural than these, the same records herald to the world the most revolting acts the world ever saw, how despairing mothers sell their babes to secure them against immediate death, if not such lives as their parents are to know. And you still wonder why labor is not passively content and

refuses to wait for better times for a dinner. You are still shocked that the world can see aught demanding a change in the orders producing these results.

No other nation of earth could have preserved such a fine appearance or met the assaults made by treachery and receive such dagger thrusts under guise of friendship and aid to the national life, and been so little overthrown. It is this same treacherous misrepresentation of intentions and the utter insufficiency of measures heralded as the preservers of labor's rights and the entire disregard of labor's needs and rights in the framing of other laws that cause the unrest and threatening aspect of labor in times when the natural results of the double dealings arrive. The crowding for increased power over all classes; the grasping of the forces of production, thereby closing up all possible avenues of escape to labor independent of capital as a distinct factor in the industrial life; the inundations of low priced foreign laborers that have been brought here in times past to underbid American workers, that still arrive by thousands under guise of seeking citizenship,—these are some of the causes leading to the awakening of labor to the peril in which the class stands. The growth of their helplessness under present conditions presents to them a grim and startling picture of the state they are meant to occupy if they do not prevent their own enslavement.

You profess to marvel at the impatience of this class when in desperation at their wrongs they commit acts that startle you with the earnestness of their determination. There is not, probably, another nation of workers who would have suffered their relative falling away in power and advancement with as little disturbance of social quiet. That they are beginning to make a stand promises much for the general state of society in times to come. If final equilibrium must be reached through

disorders let it be remembered that disorder is not the result of a single factor, for resistance must be met if there is disturbance when a movement is begun. We have not tasted the beginning unless we remove the causes for the demonstrations witnessed in late years. We have witnessed things not pleasant from some points of view; they will increase while their cause fails to diminish. There will be many an uprising, many a torched and clubbed protest emphasized and horrified by wreckings, dynamitings, killings and other like diversities which labor's enemies will not need to embellish in gruesomeness. It takes no Jeremiah to predict and weep over this. A knowledge of human nature coupled with an observation of past events and present tendencies shows the determination of both classes. Unless the element that makes for the wise settlement and adjustment of differences acquires control there is more trouble to face than lies in the rear.

Americans have imbibed strong ideas of the equality they have heard so much about. It is useless in the case to say that a great many of these ideas are erroneous and contrary to the best interpretation of the text, that they are unreasonable, absurd, impossible. They are here, potent factors in these uncertain times. They are here, the groundwork of future good when these dark days have passed into history. It is not possible for labor to hold ideas more untrue as to the office of the word than are the ideas of ultra-monopolists. The one simply offsets the other. Good will come of the teaching, let its acceptance be as diversified and erroneous as it will, for notwithstanding absurdities and crudities a grain of truth withal must find lodgment in the mind of the world. The greater the divergence the less likely that either extreme will prevail. The standard of equity as a personal belief, like all other standards, must vary to

suit the taste of all. As a practical application to conditions the future meaning of the word will be one modified by the terms it expresses between all classes.

It is hard to determine which view is more wrongfully if either extreme carried a hope of realization. We find these opposites in belief speaking in the extremist who thinks he has a right to share the rich man's store, and in the belief of his antipode who holds that things are about equally divided when his daily income mounts into the thousands beyond expenses, and the incomes of the men who do his work mount up toward the dollar line, not counting expenses. The one is scarcely more disgusting than the other, but of the two the last has done more practical harm in the world. We hear more remark on the ridiculousness of the first belief, because, having supposed that all had an equal chance to gain riches we have concluded that he who did not was a worthless spendthrift, and he who did we have supposed to only avail himself of opportunities open to all. Indeed, many have not only thought this to be the secret of our unbalanced economic state, but have gone to the length of talking it. Good white paper has been defiled with the statement. Politicians whose trade makes truckling to plutocracy profitable to both parties have enlarged upon it. Preachers of the supposedly Christian gospel have desecrated their sacred offices to a support of the theory. The state and church influence seems to be against the man who has failed to live up to his supposed privilege of money-getting. In the state and church estimate of manhood it would appear that he who will forego his birth-right of wealth collecting, or he who has for any reason failed to live up to this standard, deserves two attentions, good advice and soup house. These but not more. A subsidized press has its influence; the politician has his reward from those he serves; but poor old church,—the vest-

ings of heaven include no sandal soft enough to deaden the click of the cloven hoof when the garb is stolen for such a service. You have all gone after strange gods, so strange that the heart of humanity must feel you alien.

If we would avoid the fate of depressed and unjustly conditioned old world states we must avoid their follies. Many of the latter having found shelter and practice here, the former looms more and more threatening, more and more unavoidable. And we are grieved, shocked, at the protests made against that parallel condition. What we are dallying with is the very danger we have execrated, self-warned against and scare-crowed with for years. Let us not hope to escape what we invite, let us not decry the efforts made to render their fate not ours. Effect will follow cause for the God of nations is not a discriminating God. His "Thou shalt not" is as fixed and eternal as His "Thou shalt," and binds enlightened America in the same compass set for most pagan Mongolia, darkest Africa. If much shall be required where much is given let the builders of America beware lest they are unable, when called, to return fair profits from the trust placed in their keeping.

Would you American, patriot, as you love to be called and which you may be in your heart, although your acts so belie the claim,—would you hail the day in which you and the world would see your fellow-citizen, a free American, and yet nobler tie—a brother man—reduced to the level of your brute servant? It may put money into thy purse, but what will it put into his heart and thine! What will it put into our country,—what strivings, envyings, anarchisms, riots, assassins and wholesale destroyers of the public peace and its good. It is a revolting and sorrowful sight to all true eyes to see him, a God-created being brought hither without his consent, to endure the buffets of this present world without his consent, and

sometimes, more hopelessly, without his protest, so much the plaything of man's greed. But what shall be said of this other who profits by it, and of they who cause it to be? To see him standing in humility and entreaty, beseeching, Feed me enough that I may have strength, clothe me enough that I shame not your modesty and I will give you my life; its manly strength, its precious time, its hopes, baffled and smothered, its ambitions, crushed and buried, its promise of good things, dispelled,—this, all I have, will I give you coined out in gold for that slight recompense. Rejoice not to see that day, for the end of all things pure and lovely and of good report has come for the people who abide its reign. Is the drift from that point or toward it? We are not standing still. Let us no more be shocked at the protests of the workers. Let us welcome them rather as salvation from the death.

In the bonds now uniting labor and capital never will be found peace. Dissensions will follow quiet and quiet succeed disorder as the struggle proceeds. Beyond the class who receive money from employers for service done the same causes act to promote uncertain movement. After political and social upheavals have effected a compromise on points in favor of the ideas held by the laboring element, quiet will follow to such a time as wages are again crowded down by one or a union of the agencies that act as pressures against the wage scale. When the owners of productive wealth who have locked it up to serve their own ends at last consent to be magnanimous and allow labor to produce, a slow stream stirs the stagnant waters of commerce and "good times" follow for a season. But industry in the control of a few is uncertain, prosperity or depression following their action. This is not solely the fault of those controlling industries; it

is the not unnatural result of the effort at personal interests that dominates private conduct of enterprise. That it is short-sighted and ruinous to the general prosperity does not interest present owners so much as their personal gains aggravated by the fear of competition calls for the crowding for every possible, even if temporary advantage. That a more socialized control or owning of many industries has been found far more profitable in all ways will not convince the majority of those controlling productive agencies that it is to their good to follow the example. Inasmuch as it is the other class that suffer most from present arrangements it will in all probability fall to them to lead in the institution of changes necessary to the general good.

All fractional remedies, all half-way lifts of the weights, all make-believes for the amelioration of the grievous condition of a class, who, if left alone and less legislated for and against would be abundantly able to do without extraneous help, may serve to put off the day of reckonings and changes. But it must come; come with the whirlwind's strife or with the gentle beneficence of natural justice and the persuasive power of truth. The demands for a change grow more imperative. It will be well in the coming of that day if the masters of labor do not too much withstand the change. History is their monitor.

If labor has shown restlessness in the past it is because there has been a constant struggle on the part of those lowest down in the social grades to climb upward,—to climb up that they be not forced down. That this restlessness intensifies daily is due to the same cause in increasing persistence.

Standing armies will not avail to preserve national existence. Suggestions of this nature may be omitted from the list of possibilities,—and advisabilities if we will be

warned by their example in other countries. Those who seek a salt potent to save the body must know that if soul be lacking there is no salt that will avail in the least. The only saving element is the love and patriotism of the people, the soul of any government. The consecrated lives of loyal citizens are the only effective defense between the enemy within or without and the institutions on which they train their batteries. Not many American citizens would shoot down their countrymen to preserve peace by warfare when the issue be that of war or starvation. Occasionally there may be found one who in the capacity of peace officer will try to preserve order by instigating war through the murderous shooting down of peaceful men ignorant of the fact that it is not safe to march when would-be employers refuse a request. The conflict now going on may develop a few who would shoot down Americans as well as foreigners in a like manner, but many of the kind will never be found.

If any man doubts the ability or spirit of the classes wronged in our social gradations to obtain redress in some form he has not earnestly and carefully dwelt on the subject and studied it in its various phases and details. The spirit of dissatisfaction and restlessness, world-wide, is manifesting its presence here by demonstrations that portend change in some form. The socially contented apologist who would brush this away with the unexplanatory, unsatisfactory and untruthful statement that the laboring classes were ever classes of unrest and discontent, threatening the stability of society, proposes no remedy. He cannot believe a continuation of the present condition will prove remedial, even though he makes their lot not so very much to grumble at. Their condition is such as they make it, he argues. This is true, but why the objections to efforts put forth in regard to that condition,

knowing it to be such as they make it? Their condition, better or worse than now, fifty years hence will still be such as they make it, such as they to-day are molding for to-morrow. The apologist further says their number they regulate and the crowding down of wages is due to their own blind folly in not regulating their lives by the rules evolved by the apologist. Let them cease to increase in number, live within their means (yes, to be sure; at the risk of ceasing to live), and all will be well.

Sir, all will be well, with or without the rigid adherence to your suggestions your self-sufficiency would proclaim them worth. All will admit the great importance of your ideas, but few will call them sovereign for the correction of the social injustices complained against. Education and advice from one class to another are strong factors in molding the lives and customs of generations, but they are more potent if along the lines of expediency and common sense.

If the causes for complaint are really the chimeras we are asked to regard them, as great a difficulty would then arise. This is the difficulty of persuading miserable, hungry, half-clad wretches that they are in truth happily placed, well nourished, comfortably clothed, altogether, a most prosperous class. This is what the apologist is trying to do now, but the weight of opinion is against his effort. Moreover, he finds himself working under difficulties occasioned and aggravated by the sensitive state in the minds of those he would soothe, the state caused by the very conditions he argues as non-existent. Supporting a family on seven and one-half dollars per month, as has been known in some districts of our best paid labor in the world is an engrossing task, one not fitted to produce patience with the representations of the apologist, kind as they are. Seasons of partial activity alternate with those of depressing, stagnating idleness. General expansions

of business react on periods of peril and disaster brought about by mad-class legislation for the space of a generation. Then plunging again into a state of atrophy by a return of the effects of favoritism, with always the laboring man as the basis of spoliation leaves but little time for a consideration of the apologist's claims by those for whom they are made. Periodic cataclysms make havoc in the world of industry, and labor must from the defenseless position held suffer far in excess of relative ability to meet the disasters wrought by such occurrences. Labor is always the force against which the breakers of industrial agitations beat, tearing, wearing the strength of society's defense.

If after a third of a century since African slavery was discontinued in our country we can find no defenders for such a revolting institution in the numbers of those who at the time of the great civil struggle believed it to be right, how much less will there be a defender of our present state after our industrial wrongs have been righted, as righted they will be some day?

There are features of it that cannot continue. He who honestly investigates will find them. Opinions as to the best way of reducing them, of minimizing their force, of abolishing them, must vary as they always have, but the strong heart of the nation looks for justice to its workers. With brawny men telling out their life strength in return for recompense insufficient for the barest needs of existence; with others, strong and willing to work, starving, or stealing, or begging bread; with women and children adding the weight of their small strength in labor unwomanly and unchildlike to help bear the burden of physical life, we cannot continue. All this has been brought about in a few years. All of which could have been avoided if the keepers of our heritage had been true to their trust. All of which could be soon righted now if the

majority of those who recognize a necessity for change could unite on a satisfactory, a workable plan of action. A few years more at the progress in the present direction, a slave's portion where the owner is compelled by humanitarianism and force of public sentiment to feed and clothe his human property would be an earthly paradise to the average wage toiler.

One speaking for the forces of monopoly says there is to be a change in the wage scale. But the change, it is said, will be a still further reduction of the pay labor is now able to command, and not an increase. And was it for this American laborers trusted their all to the monopoly capitalist and his kindred? We shall see. If Americans have lost all that sterling manhood bequeathed them by their forefathers, if the principles of justice and freedom for which they have been celebrated be with them of so sickly vitality that a generation of encroachments has crushed them, if patriotism has ceased to be a part of the national life, then may the arrogant and plundering plutocracy of the land grow so insolent in aggression that avowals of further enslavement may be openly indulged. But if, on the contrary, Americans reverence truth and national preservation more than they cringe to the powers of law-sanctioned wrongs it were unwise for plutocracy to reveal so much of actual intentions.

If the word of the speaker for plutocracy be true, then is our end as the end of others who have failed to follow right. It is certain the completion of present tendencies has but the one end,—a nation going down to burial at the cross-roads, its requiem the curses of men, the sobs of women and the dying moans of starving children. But there are those outnumbering plutocracy who work for a fairer destiny, and with many promises of success.

CHAPTER X.

OUR PECULIAR CASE.

All people are capable of self-government. Governments prove this. That efforts at self-government do not appear more highly successful from a scientific view-point of governmental methods and results does not argue the failure of the scheme or the absence of inherent powers of government. It only argues the non-existence of those ideas and conditions that are said to be necessary, which are necessary for those peoples who are ready for them, which cannot be forced into acceptance by those who have not grown in the principles. In all forms the government reflects the character of the governing, the ideas of the governed. No worse governments can be found than in those forms where unquestioned authority is vested in a single individual who is said to rule by the grace of God,—and as events would show, by the direct interposition of the Devil.

That the government portrays the character of the governed and governing is shown by the fact that the forms and customs grow toward the good demanded by the governed, fully picturing the state of the ruled by the ultimate acts of the ruler. Back of any government is the choice of the people, or that government yields sooner or later to the modifying influences of the people's sentiments, or what more nearly represents their sentiments. We have seen it so in late years, as it has ever been seen. Think you a Turkish devil whose real title a polite world has softened to that of sultan could wantonly butcher defenseless and unoffending human beings, or his brother,

the government of Spain, torture brave and liberty loving human kind did not the first have his fanatic horde to execute his behests and the latter a little less frenzied army to carry out the intentions of their rulers, while Christianity went to prayers and civilization sharpened her plowshares? Does it seem that the government of the United States of America could play at the game of George III. a little over a century after the War of Independence if the nation had not forgotten its origin and gone mad in the lust for power and money? Obligation to humanity is the watchword of tyranny. Moslemism proselytes at the point of the sword and Christendom cries aloud to the God of heaven for vengeance. Christianity, so-named, adopts the argument of the Musselman, proposing to civilize as well as religionize the Orient. The primary lesson in the series is presented by the canon's thunder, and the watchword is obligation to humanity. Who is the judge of civilization and religion? The nations of the world have made the test of strength the sole judge. There is nothing found demanding civilizing and religionizing until some nation has found a power weaker in land and naval forces. If the weaker power possesses natural resources and other wealth opportunities the demand for civilizing and religionizing appeals to the stronger power with much greater imperiousness. The necessity for the work consists solely in the ability to force the civilization and religion by a seeming acceptance into the lives of the people warred against.

In all home governments the people govern or consent to be governed. Magna Charta would to-day be waiting in the depths of futurity had not some Runnymede proven the trysting place of liberty compelling barons who knew that kings arrogate to themselves powers inherent in all humanity, and exercise power only through the grace of God, the consent of the people and interposition of the

enemy of all. There can be no power in government or exercised by rulers but that delegated by the governed. All exercised beyond this or aside from this is usurped. Such usurpations can continue only so long as the governed are content under them, submit to them, permit them. All plans of government are subject to revision and revocation at the will of the majority of people living under the provisions. This majority will vary according to the degree of power the unit has been exercising in the operations of government, according to his non-importance therein. In elective states certain majorities that have been determined are sufficient to compel changes; in arbitrary forms much greater comparative majorities are necessary. The majority opposed to John at Runnymede was very much greater than would be the majority required to change a national law in England now. The majority required in Russia or China at the present day if a great change were to be agitated would be virtually the nation against one man supported by his army. Even so divided, the one man would probably prove sufficient to his own needs when so supported.

Any people are capable of modified self-government through rightly chosen representatives if representative government is wanted. Any people are capable of self-government in the entirety through popular judgment of measures if a pure democracy is the ideal of that people. Wise and just government by these methods can be arrived at, but only by careful inspection of all that is presented for approval. But the less direct the government the less representative of the people's freedom will it be, the less likely to serve the people with good and equitable laws. The less direct it is the more likely to serve the interests of those who watch for opportunities, of those able to bribe.

Any people are entitled to control all the conditions under which they live, so far as conditions are subject to human control. In themselves they are masters of all economic as well as political conditions. That economic operations under existing conditions choke industry and cripple capital and labor alike leads serious people to deny the utility and adequacy of the competitive system of industry and ask that all producers be authorized to share in proportion to their contribution in the product of united toil. To advance to pure socialism is but a step, and in view of the unequal distribution of economic goods and the helplessness of producers there are many anxious to take the final step. It would be impossible to arrange a system more unfair to any class engaged in the production and handling of wealth than the present one in its relation to labor. The altruistic doctrine that earth's children are the true inheritors of earth's riches, that they are sharers in the bounties of nature and nature's provisions for life physical and its comforts is probably denied by none on first thought. But the proportion of sharing invites discussion; prevailing methods of distribution repudiate the doctrine. We have found that society disintegrated, its units placed in such relation to each other that exchange becomes impossible, each earth-child will depend on his own ability to sustain physical life, and the right to use land being granted, each one will possess in unquestioned control all the wealth he is capable of producing. That there should arise, in the complex state of industry, a class of people who possess wealth without in any way contributing to wealth production is beyond defense when it is so undeniable that wealth belongs to him who fashions it. So if the controllers of wealth and wealth resources take exceptions to the wisdom and justice of the demands of socialism, there are arraignments of the prevailing situation they dare not defend unless they wish to con-

vince all of the truth of the very severe charges concerning their aims and intentions as made by their opponents, the socialists. Socialism, embodying the beauty of altruism, stands forever balanced against the selfishness of one-sided competition, self-seeking individualism. Self-seeking is the gist of the indictment against the competitive system. The theory of competition is self, its practice, self, its results the extremes of wealth and poverty. If in their contempt for the theory there is mingled a great amount of fear on the part of the direct and most interested opposers of socialism, they must consider the fact that it is more the result of present economic relations that causes the socialistic idea to root and flourish than the writings of its various schools. Nothing contributes so much to the downfall of a system as the long continued failure to do what it claims to do, the doing of the opposite of what it claims to do. Our industrial system is daily sitting in judgment upon itself.

An interest in the welfare of labor such as the strong ought always to take in the weak is a moral responsibility which can never be enforced against capital by legislation. The relative strength and weakness of capital and labor will continue and increase while the present dispensation lasts. Capital, wealth, is strong in monopolization of productive forces and the class interests are strengthened and advanced by organization made possible by the few to be banded together for mutual and individual power. Labor, the fundamental producer, is weak through absence of organization, through diffusion of forces. Labor is the real power in the relation of employer to employé, in a natural state of industry; but the only way for workers to obtain justice as we have devised, must come through legislative demands and bungling attempts at the reconstruction of the productive activities of the country and

the world. Where laws and customs go to develop a weak and a strong class in furtherance of natural tendencies toward oppression, pitiable is the one, brutal the other result. For every man or woman driven through lack of honest employment to seek a living by unlawful means, there is a responsibility somewhere. It may not be any one person who is responsible; very rarely does it happen that one of these unfortunates can point to an individual and say, Thou art the one. Such injustices are hard to place, being due to conditions rather than caused by individuals. The injustice only is felt and can but be attributed to the act and position of that vague and well-nigh indefinable power so hard to come at and arraign which we call "the people." The cause of such misfortunes when chased to cover proves invariably to be some maladjustment of industrial forces, intrenched, perhaps, in years of abuse and law-sanctioned usage. The spirit of competition, is, under monopolization, inimical to the prosperity of the whole people, for under monopolization competition weakens the weak and strengthens the strong. It is so with us where monopolization is practiced to a degree exclusive of competition in all but unmonopolized departments of industry. In that healthy development in all departments the welfare of all engaged in production must be provided by an equal opportunity to labor, to produce, and to control the results of labor.

The spirit of undivided profits makes monopolizations dangerous. Employers of labor do not carry on their enterprises as charitable institutions to serve labor or for furnishing employment to labor that would otherwise go unemployed and destitute. Such businesses are purely personal and are conducted with a view to purely personal gains, and herein lies the basis of all socialistic truths. That each is by right entitled to what he earns has been twisted to fit a condition where each is entitled to what

he can secure. While the object of personal gains is as legitimate on the part of capital as it is with labor the conditions governing the two interests are by present arrangements in the nature of opposition. The object of each, unless abused, is entirely fair. In no system embracing either the principles of competition or the spirit of profit sharing would injury to one class or the other result if opportunities were equal. The failure of the competitive system is due to the feature of monopolization which makes competition one-sided, causing labor to compete against labor for an opportunity to produce, for on the ability as a producer and on the exercise of that ability the prosperity of labor hinges.

From these causes we have grown a society of economics that is bound together by the wage rate and capital has grown too much in the belief that its sole obligation to the rest of society is in the payment of wages and the rest of society has grown too much in the acceptance of that belief. But employers of labor are not absolved in an ethical sense from all responsibility to those who under existing orders give them their lives at so much per day, when they pay their workers the stipulated amount. We have made our largest class our weak class, and have freed in a way, the strong from all claims upon their strength. There are obligations for provision of educational and recreative opportunities to all classes that bear specially upon the holders of wealth which they should be caused to assume and discharge. Such a provision would prove a suitable introduction to more important equalizations.

No matter how falsely we may look at it, the strong are never absolved from responsibility to the weak. It would be well if the strong ones, collectively, of nations could realize their obligations in this. This obligation being repudiated, let the strength-factors be the more quickly

distributed, for a nation cannot be stronger than its weakest class. Out of the weaknesses of class-made distinctions strength grows sometimes that is terrible in its power. When that weak class swells to a majority, then is that weakness very great, very sorrowful, very shameful; then is the strength potential of that class most fit to tear society, to dissolve a nation of wrong doings and reconstruct it on truer lines. If we have not solved the problem of economic-social life with a better result than so much money for so many hours' work, then this old world might better have remained in a chaotic state so far as our work is concerned. If we, or they who succeed us cannot offer a better solution, or more earnestly try for a better, then heaven send the reign of chaos again, and that right away, lest other souls be born to learn and curse the mockery we have named progress and civilization.

If human life and development can arrive at no higher place, no wiser place, no juster place, then it is a grotesque travesty on creative wisdom and our modern civilization with its unmeasured sufferings and abuses is a thing for angels to weep over and devils to chuckle at. When those who buy labor say in virtuality—be the claim as charitable as it may, as pretentiously patriotic as we know—I give you enough of your day's earnings to enable you to live overnight and enough beside to buy you a scant breakfast that you may have strength to do a forenoon's work and so earn your dinner—when capital does so much and proceeds to withdraw from the ultimate fate of labor and society in general, there is a tendency toward, if not a long stride taken along the path that leads to industrial slavery.

The phrase "industrial slavery" is not in good repute owing to its abuse by some who delight to use it on every possible occasion, fatalists, alarmists and numerous ists whose association with any cause retards the work they

would forward. There are many such in the world, perhaps as many of them as there are apologists and other ists of similar school who are as foolishly supportive of the wealth power as the former are foolishly antagonistic of it. The alarmist gives his cause odium from overzeal and calamitous prophesying, seeing destruction everywhere; the apologist puts himself into contempt with all by his smooth assurance of infallibility of the unangelic host he represents, the necessity of a wealth power, seeing destruction nowhere. For the first class, heaven gave them a mind to discern but another power endued them with a morose false prophecy and gift of speech; so fears are in their way and the grasshopper is a burden to them. They suppose many evils to be beyond the hope of help, and are taken by panic, because, since they could not see the beginning of others they cannot imagine the end. They have a sorry and thankless task. Nations, like individuals, like to listen to a recital of their virtues while not relishing a recital of their errors. We may be no more marked in our love of praise than others, but it is certain that the American public are given to look with aversion at everything that does not flatter the national pride and cater to the national ear with its love for the assurance that we are the greatest nation of earth and that Thy Kingdom Come has been fulfilled in us, with many other things equally desirable. The second class are complacent so long as they and their kind rule, hold firmly to the belief of Thy Kingdom Come—and strive to forward it. They could find a moral, and enact a legal justification for the destruction of half the world's population—it would make times so much easier for the remaining half. In this spirit a famine in breadstuffs in foreign cereal producing lands has been known to delight them; it would advance the price of the home product and the reduction of numbers caused by

starvations abroad would advance wages just a little everywhere, because if there are fewer to work in a given field the demand for labor then will increase. If the extremists on either side would take middle grounds, both classes would stand nearer the truth. This is perhaps impossible for either, and since the phrase is not in good favor, may the love for it and the justification of its use diminish rather than increase.

If laws for the compulsion of ethical truths cannot be enacted there can be such laws demanded of and forced from even billion-dollar congresses, of petty spite deadlocked senates and congressional hucksters in general as will compel a man to man honesty and fairness in the economic relations of society. If the public have no choice under the present elective system but to choose monopolists and monopoly bondmen to their law-making offices, they ought to do so reserving the right to dictate such laws as will not place the whole earth and all that therein are at the disposal of the lawmakers and the lawmakers' masters. If this is impossible under the system let them change the manner of legislation. The parasite theory may be correct enough confined to its proper limits, but no tax-extortionist, no monopoly bloodsucking moneybags has yet proven either by argument or by demonstration that social-economic members of this family, as developed under the perversion of constitutionally defined American rights, are beneficial or welcome to the great body of the people. How far from beneficial they are, let the present speak for itself while lifting a warning hand to the future. How far from welcome in their misery dealing results, read the record of industrial disorders the past three decades for a testimony if memory serves not to keep present that array of revolts, ruin of property and blood-spilling of misguided and misgoverned American labor.

We are the cosmopolites of earth. Ours is a national character hitherto unknown. Race oppositions, religious oppositions, national oppositions, unite to form an inharmonious mass hard to reconcile to the truth that the good of one must be reached through the good of all. Having made our country the refuge of the oppressed of all nations, the incongruous mass from foreign lands no sooner become acclimated and citizenized until the struggle is precipitated, each racial, each religious and each national faction seeking supremacy, or such coalitions as will result in supremacy, and the object not more to build up one than to tear down the other. Here confined within one national limit and subject to the same conditions we have the elements of discord, which in the old world are separated for the greater part into distinctive national groups. We have pope and anti-pope, factions hard to reconcile, and all the bitterness of spirit that follows in the train of religious bigotry and intoleration. We have nihilists, anarchists and monarchists out of all nations, irreconcilable in their aims. We have the oppressed and long suppressed who spring into dangerous activity at the removal of ever felt bonds. With all these our law-making bodies trifle; they agitate wantonly this antagonistic and electric mass of humanity and protest they want peace. Politicians coax, promise and bribe, expecting that the end to double dealing will be forever deferred. Linking together and yet separating these uncongenial factors in our national composition as the non-conducting tie which unites and renders harmless these virulent positives and aggressive negatives, is the earnest, thoughtful, order-loving class. This is the power of defense against the mighty forces within that vibrate with the tendencies of disruption and disintegration. This is the salt element preserving the wholesomeness of the organization, and it looks at times that they will not prove sufficient to the

task because of the many and great demands made of them in their life preserving capacity.

In the more intimate relationships of our national life we have yet other features to disorder. Such extremes as are found in the liberty accustomed Swiss, the enlightened Frenchman, the brave and aggressive Englishman jostle elbows in citizenship with the cringing, ignorant, browbeaten sans-culottism of many lands. Cleanliness and morality from the sturdy peasantry of Europe mingle more or less in daily life with the filth of the Orient. Order and patriotism come face to face with intrigues and disloyalties schooled in the prolific embroilments of dynastic oppressions and servile hatreds. We have the brutalizing agents of African and Mongolian miscegenationists and trespassers on many of the virtues of civilization. As antidote to these degrading influences we have what is scarcely less brutalizing in another way—the precipitate regulators who punish violations with a severity and dispatch that have nothing of the softening and corrective elements of deliberate justice to recommend their methods.

Such is, in part, the outline of the composite mass of human differentials from which the makers of America are to establish and perpetuate a state. The material, the situation, lie before us. Yes, such is the unavoidableness of fate, the necessity is upon us. We cannot deny these foreign elements citizenship. Could we shut out all who in the future come knocking for admission we would still have enough to invite study of ways and means of caring for those already here and harmonizing them. But we cannot deny any a portion in the good we have been able to institute. When we refuse them a participation in our national life, when we forbid them our opportunities we repudiate the virile principle and the cardinal virtue of our institutions. We ordained conditions of equality and

participation for all who subscribe to our articles of faith. If our institutions are too weak to endure the strain of self-imposed burdens, so much the worse for the institutions, for they must then be swept aside. The necessity of fate directs us. There are systems of government suited to the needs of as heterogeneous a people as we are. Our nationality must prove superior to and stronger than the adverse forces introduced and of which it is at present composed. It must mold over these forces, amalgamate them and so incorporate them into the very spirit of nationality that they will contribute to the vitality and harmony of Americanism. Out of this mass of differences must emerge the American, with a fixed national character and a fixed national purpose. This is, in part, our task. Ways must be found, a system flexible and firm that will hold together for this purpose the unlike elements of our hitherto unexampled national composition. The ways to accomplish this are not the ways of the politician, but are those which will secure the good of all despite the protest and effort of those who look upon the rights of citizenship as a power of revenge or a free gift of merchantable goods bestowed by the nation for the pleasure of citizens.

A careful consideration of the elements composing our national family is an essential feature of statecraft and one worthy the engagement of the social evolutionist. America presents a field for development and study in state and society building unexampled to-day and unsurpassed in times past.

Bestowing unbalanced power, legislating for one faction or against one faction or class is an error than which there is none more unjust, none more fraught with possibilities of disaster. And yet class legislation is the rule. The old-world factions that enter into our national composition find blended with the pretensions of political

freedom the rule of classisms from which they had hoped to escape. The more American unit experiences with the nominal equality of all the virtual domination of factions united by the common tie of greed. The creatures we have called forth threaten and defy us. The violence they commit on the rights of manhood and citizenship is a cry for redress but not so much as a firm rebuke has been offered as a countermove. It is but natural that their demands increase and their assurance mount with each successive triumph. There is nothing surprising in the circumstance when corporate powers dictate as the only terms on which employment is to be granted that employés vote for the man who will further the employers' interests at the expense of the rest of the people. It is too old a tale to excite surprise. It is not surprising when colonization of voters is practiced, federal patronage promised and wealth put to the direct use of ballot corruption by the beneficiaries of special legislation to secure the administration of affairs to those who will continue favors to the wealth power. We have grown dulled to these by repetition. When sugar kings defy senatorial investigations and insolently refuse information on methods and profits of concerns the senate helped to create, we are not surprised, for, looking to the past, the motto of such businesses is: Hitherto hath legislation helped me; looking to the future it is: From this time forward I will help myself. Unrebuked but not unthreatened is the power that would swallow up national integrity in greed and cancel manhood with the dollar. While plutocracy reaches out greedy hands for more and ever more the warnings of the watchmen of liberty are heard. But the tones blending with the clink of gold in the hands of the money changers make to them a queer confusion and sometimes they call the words anarchistic, sometimes treasonable; always something terrible, for

gold-clinking hath a devil's voice to the ears that love nothing but its sound so all sounds that come to them take on the same nature.

The conditions that prevail and grow in severity of injustice are responsible for the demands for a socialization of production and distribution. It is a needed balance. Society grows toward socialism through the extreme operations of class favoring laws. Legislation grows toward plutocracy urged thither by the demands and control of the classes. In the core of socialism is found the idea of service to humanity. In the core of plutocracy is found the idea of service to self. So while there is an aggressive plutocracy there needs an intelligent socialism to draw the policy of state away from the tendency to class service to that of universal service.

Restrictive and expensive tariffs rendered doubly effective for the promotion of trusts through the choking of universal competition have weighed us down for years. Yet the removal of all tariffs and basing taxation on direct property values cannot do all we must have done. Decreased volume of money, restricting the wage scale has helped heap up the burden. But an increasing supply of money will, as an end, do little to check the downward tendency of wages and reward to industry in all fields of legitimate enterprise. Defeats of taxation schemes designed to relieve the toilers and forms devised to pander directly to plutocracy help to swell the oppressions of honest taxpayers, but income taxes and taxation of luxuries with the exemption of necessities to the laborer would result in only a small fraction of the justice that must be done the mass of the people. This gain would be only temporary for as soon as the new order could be instituted just then would begin the process of reducing wages to a lower point, leaving labor but enough to live on under the change that made cheaper living possible.

All workers need is the freedom to do. This they now have not. This they must have if labor is to reach a state of independence and self-reliance, if they are to escape serfdom. Workers would not contract with employers for dollar wages if land now idle could be by them used where two dollars a day could be earned. They would not work for two dollars if by self-employment they could earn three. Dependence for employment and therefore wages, and because of wages dependence for subsistence, on monopolizing and restrictive capital places labor at the mercy of capital, gives labor a complete master in all departments of life. All forms of capital except such as embrace monopolistic features are hampered by the same law of control on the part of monopoly. Capital that does not include the office of monopoly or come within the monopoly ring is as defenseless and as mercilessly consumed of monopoly as is labor. This state jeopardizes the stability and integrity of the entire industrial plan. Absolute power over labor is the position capital holds in a system making possible the private monopolization of wealth resources. Absolute power by one class is dangerous in any state of society. This has been the mistake of past societies. Private ownership of the sources from which are supplied the necessities of physical life will result in injury to the physical well being of all coming under these provisions as the desire for gains prompts the holders to manipulate their control to the most self-advantageous ends. Through injury to the physical will come injury in all the higher forms of life in man. There are some avenues to wealth and freedom that must be made a common right if prosperity in all desirable forms and with all classes of society is to be reached. The nationalization of land with the equalization of opportunities that would result therefrom would level the strong tower of class interests. Popular control of all avenues of transit,

state or municipal control of light and water supplies and the control of all necessities of a social nature that all may receive the highest benefit at the lowest rates seem no more than the common due. Seem no more than equality. The comfort and enlightenment of the people are obligations of organized society which cannot with justice be entrusted to the control of private interests, being too opposite to the gains of those private interests. Control of the tools is control of the man who must use the tools. In the providence of God no man is born the industrial master of another. In the laws of man no such provisions should find place.

This idea, when it is not called by harsher names, is sometimes called paternalism. It may be paternalism if you have no truer, juster name whereby to designate it. It is not favoritism. If it be paternalism that much and often illy applied word is the expression of a condition of truth in industrial relations seldomly accredited to it. This is the kind of paternalism that would be acceptable, the fatherliness of governmental authority that says,—My children, *share* in the bounties and opportunities I provide; a republican brotherhood where no primogenitural laws of legislative favoritism grant the wealth and privileges to one out of many.

Evolutionary science takes much satisfaction in contemplating the survival of the fittest. Evolutionary science in distortion is a boon to millionairism. Any doctrine which of itself or in distortion would go to show that whatever is is right unmodified would have millionairism under bonds of gratitude to it. But millionairism should reflect that in the process of evolution one stage is not lasting, that each must pass to make room for that which is to succeed. So when the order comes for millionairism to pass it cannot stay; as a phase in social evolution it has

nearly accomplished its work and the time ripens for its departure and the succession of another phase. What apparent hindrances are really helps, preparing society for a great move forward when the obstacles are overcome, cannot be determined. How much evolution as a fact in social science is to be considered is not proven. The happy feature of optimism in the nature of man would hail it here as elsewhere. What society would do, what might have been done by now, to what point nearing perfection the race might have grown had not injustice been given so large a place in social schemes and considered the traveling companion of the race, evolutionary nor any other science does not venture to inform us. In perversion of the science injustice is made a part of the evolutionary plan.

The marvelous development of society in late years, evidences of which we see in the social surroundings and the social state to-day, shows a rapidity of movement and change which threaten universal disorder if the tendencies be not conducted aright, if too many obstructions to the right course be placed in the way. The opposition to moneyed monarchism in government is far distancing legislation. Rapid evolution, rapid development of social demands must be responded to by rapidity in all movements of social enterprise and response to demands or clashes will follow. If this rapidity be directed in lines dangerous to the public good, the danger is great. To avoid this, change in condition satisfying change in demand must keep pace. Centralization and anarchy are the two extremes in government as private monopolization and communism are extremes in economic distribution. All tendencies toward complete centralization by plutocracy will be met by anarchistic tendencies on the part of the extreme at the other end of the political order. Again we find in this extreme weighing against extreme, a nec-

essary balance. The middle, logical and safe ground between two such thoroughly antagonistic extremes will be found in a more complete democracy with equalizations of opportunities for all and special privileges to none.

Many have pointed out that the growth of capitalism in proportions and in its centralizing and autocratic tendencies has been of but few years; that never in the annals of associated mankind was a power so potent in influence sprung from incipency to mature stages in so brief a period. None of these have found the influence of this power to have but one aim, either in the past or present. There are few who cannot see that capitalism as developed in our midst and under our partially representative institutions is fatal to the interests of all but capitalism. Rapidity of growth here must be met with equally prompt action on the part of those who suffer from it, and who would maintain the integrity of our institutions, sometimes spoken of as free.

The outward expression of the spirit of liberty, forever in the hearts of men, as instanced in our peculiar social state, has given to labor a restrictive and dictatorial position relative to capitalism that makes it easy to control to the good of all. But only the right application of this power will result in good. Social evolution presents the statement that the power of franchise was granted by the so-called powerful classes to the commonalty through the leveling effects of altruism. Whatever may have been the immediate cause of such a granting history seems to show that it was less a gift than a taking. By what cause physical or moral, there has ever been a powerful class composed of one man in a thousand has not been made clear. Classes have in the past and do to-day exert influences far beyond the proportion of their number or worth. Yet that they exercise this strength by virtue of any inherent or any but an usurped and uncontested authority is a point

beyond support. No class, no man, has a right to dictate or control the acts of others. They have not the power beyond that delegated by those for whom and over whom control is exercised. Societies delegate to certain men power of protection, power to make laws, to others the office of explaining laws, to others the enforcement and punishment for violations. The power is purely representative and is subject to recall by those granting it. No political or social power inheres in one class above that inhering in another class of like number and no authority so inheres. The isolated human unit must govern himself by the best that is in him; the social body composed of units must govern themselves by the conference of wisdom, a stated plan of prohibitions of acts unfit. The best in the social body restrains that which is not so good. The good being not enjoined but left to individual development and pursuit, the laws of societies abound in limitations of acts which would be found harmful to the commonwealth.

The right of franchise the so-named powerful classes did not so much grant as the awakening manhood of an increasing civilization laid hold of and exercised. The power of ballot was demanded by the rights of man and the forces of altruism working in the minds of those deprived and held back from its exercise, as greatly as the same forces influenced those who had to that time employed and enjoyed it exclusively. Altruism does not beggar those influenced by it. It compels man to exercise his own rights as much as it compels him to concede the rights of others. To improve the social condition the unit with the ambition must first improve self, for good is not bestowed or drawn out by evil, wisdom by ignorance, independence by servitude. As it was with ballot power, so is it with all rights of humanity. Right is might ever and is not forever to be withstood. If the power-exercis-

ing classes of all civilizations had persisted in restricting and denying the rights of humanity to a voice in government and the disposition and adjustment of political and social forces, the progress of the race would have been of a less steady order. Usurped power would have held sway longer, but its overthrow would have been more complete when once the ranks had been parted by the onset of the masses, and civilization perhaps have been as much advanced toward the final goal, even though representative governments were yet in the future. Civilization has many things to accomplish yet. The longer resistance is maintained against a presented claim, so much more rapid will be the progress when resistance is overcome. Development has been in mankind, not in a class. A growth in the apprehension of rights is likewise universal. Of this growth comes a division of powers and responsibilities.

The present position of labor toward capitalism, the position of the masses toward the classes, dictatorial and restrictive, clearly as determined in their way as are the few in theirs, is but an added growth of the same knowledge of rights inhering in all. These rights are asserted by the ballot, but the assertion is no more the result of the ballot exercise alone than is the fruit in vegetable life the result of the flower alone. The vigorous forces making up the life and throwing out the bud, then the flower, and at last the fruit, has given us the one as the other, in the realm of each. Ballot power would be ineffective of itself; is not, at times, directly effective, as we have seen. A greater than ballot power is necessary. It is the demand for right and the determination to win and hold it, back of the franchise expression of power that calls forth successive steps in the emancipation of the race, and the freeing of the laborer follows, he that has been since the earliest light of history's showing, the lordling's slave.

It is the intrepidity of social forces occasioned by the necessities of man that carries on the bulk of humanity toward a level of economic and social equality. Political equality is but the husk to social equality. But political equality with rights of exercise so far from being bestowed by the free grace of the classes, is an outgrowth of the powers that in the heart of man struggle towards equality in all spheres of the social universe.

We of the present generation have to do with the present. A well-guarded present gives assurance of a more equitable future. It may be said with all respect to sciences dealing with the future of the race, that we live now. In a thousand years from now there will be those of whom the same may be said and to them will be presented the Sphinx-riddle of their success individually and collectively. For themselves will they answer it as best they can. The good we can bequeath them we share in now and the best we can do for them is the doing of the best we can for ourselves. The struggle for continuation brings truth to light and makes easy successive stages of just living.

Progress has been made. There is a liberty for the majority of mankind which eases greatly the gall of oppressions and leads to broader realizations of the blessings liberty has to bestow. Not that the mass of humanity has shared with more than a shadow of equality in the goods of temporal use brought forth, but there is a growing consciousness of power and self-sufficiency to redress and cancel wrongs that relieves much of the distress prevailing in the great mass of people. If this is not true both nature and the evolutionist have made a mistake, the one in acting, the other in tracing the course of action. If this is not true the continuation of the social state is a farce in all but the expressions of grosser selfishness and ethical insufficiency of the race. Unless they fit

human kind for more advanced, more delicate responsibilities, and inculcate in human nature and energy stronger agencies for social control and moral growth, the social sciences are a dead-letter and their theories ridiculously pretentious of discoveries of facts, so-called, that have no existence and no foundation. If the evolutionist has the truth, the race is better fitted now than ever before to enthrone right as the sole monarch in the realms of society.

The working out, promotion and bequeathing to succeeding generations of equality conditions and precedents of equalizations as occasions arise, is the ever-present duty and social task presented to mankind. The upward step to-day lifts society to a height from which successive elevations are more easily gained.

A closer drawing together of economic interests is rendered inevitable by the workings of that human bond of responsibilities that considers the higher good of one and all. Isolation in a social sense is impossible. Individualism of the isolated type cannot exist in the economic life of a civilized state. Individualism is the sacred principle of human responsibility to self, of worth to society, but the responsibility and worth of the unit lay the only sure base of a humane and rational social organization. Man as a unit has ceased to live to himself and ceased also to die to himself; he has become a part of the social body. His interests are society's, society's interests are his. The union is not to be severed.

The growth of economic intercourse, the progress introduced by inventions affecting production, communication and transportation unite the community, the state, and are approaching the unity of the world. The growth of trade and the arts constantly intensifies the conditions of interdependence, world-reaching. By their progress the

old world and the new, the southern and northern zones are brought into relations vital to their continuation and progress in the highest sense. To preserve the progression no class of men are to be set aside in the consideration of laws as a part of a great machine, inferior to any other part, or to the whole. Weakening one class weakens the entire mass. The farming element, the mining, all, are composed when separated into distinctive groups of those who hold opportunities and those who hold them not. In each branch of industry the single idea of production animates all, for upon production depends life and prosperity for all in the class, and indirectly, the rest of the economic world. Neither are men in the consideration of laws to be grouped into the two classes composed of capital and labor. The capitalist is a unit in society. The laborer is a unit in society. Both are entitled to the fruits of their labor. Both must be held equally valuable in the industrial scheme as developed. The equalization of opportunities and freedom of application, the securing of the control of products to each individual in each class are the rights he is entitled to as a member of an economic society.

The rights of the individual are not transcendent to the rights of society; they are co-equal with those rights so long as the exercise of the individual right does not cause suffering to another member or members of society. So it is a self-evident truth that when corporations or business concerns are granted certain powers, the proper discharge of which forwards the happiness and prosperity of society, they should be obliged to conduct their businesses in a manner to forward the good of the people concerned or forfeit the opportunity. In such a business, as a part of the general welfare they are bound to promote is included with public service a proper wage rate to employés for a reasonable service. This is the only disposition of these relations that will stand between us and

socialism of a more pronounced type. Man's acts, in the complexity of our economic life are so fraught with importance to his fellows that conditions leading to friction, constant variance and disorders must be superseded by conditions making for peace and the even discharge of all obligations of society.

A few captains of industry have realized this condition, led thereto by the necessities imposed by justice. The number of employers adopting the profit-sharing idea is not legion but sufficient to prove the practicability of the scheme. These noble exemplars of a better order have shared with their fellow-men, their workers, so evenly the vicissitudes of commercial ebbs and flows that in the burdens imposed by "hard times" they have unflinchingly stood by the purpose, at a loss to themselves rather than gain, that the workers might not bear the full loss. That the workers may share in prosperity and sustain only a relative loss in depressed periods is the true bond with which to unite the industrial classes. The true labor captain who fares with his workers, by his brother to brother kindness, man to man treatment, did the world and world's workers but know it, has the method whereby to settle many of the labor agitations, diseases and languishments increasing in our midst. Without a fairer manner of adjusting the relations of the economic classes, nothing good can come, much that is evil will result. Under the shadow of monopolization a competitive system will compete itself to death without a salt of coöperation. While the strong continue to eat the weak no strength can come to our people; fool policy and knave practice it is to attempt a settlement and compromise of difficulties and questions vital to our national stability by passing laws of meaningless purpose where downright injustice is escaped, or passing resolutions of

respect for the weak ones who are eaten. Yet we do less than this for the weak oftener than we do more.

The future good of society demands a change in the prevailing order. The present demands it; but the immediate future of this generation is in less danger than its close. Every day darkens with less opportunities for the laborer than its dawn witnessed. The fierce competitive system we endure presses with constantly increasing severity, making the equalization of production and distribution more widely divergent, rendering extremes of wealth and poverty more broadly separated, and but for the tendencies already noticed, more hopelessly separated. It prompts the growth of those sentiments of hatred and rivalry which sets citizen at variance with citizen as economic interests dictate. It presses down mercilessly on the body of unfortunates crowded into a field of lessening opportunities where rages competition for employment upon any terms. It tramples down beyond the hope of elevation multitudes who struggle in the lower ranks where the question of personal survival becomes the only motive of existence.

As in chemistry the union of untried agents will sometimes produce destructive powers, so in our composite national character are there the elements of unknown results. We are working for the union of unlike forces and the final result does not yet appear.

The case is peculiar in that we have followed the path of the past maintaining that it will lead to a state hitherto unreachd. The forces entering into our national life are peculiar in themselves. We have taken these forces and are trying to fuse them into a similarity to other national conditions while we profess superiority in method and result. A comprehensive summing of our case may be fairly made in the statement that we have abused the

greatest privilege ever granted a people. We were given a blank page in history and we have stained it with a record of the same errors other nations have committed. We might have commenced free and remained free but we chose the bondage of the wrongs common to societies. The wealth and means to wealth have become centralized as in the past; political rights, while intact in theory, in truth have almost ceased. Our government is no longer a government for, of and by the people. It is a government of the people, by and for the benefit of plutocracy. Class interests dominate; the victory in each struggle is not to the numerically strong but to the financially strong. Equality in all spheres of life has grown to be a catch word of meaningless sound and justice in actuality a receding memory. But the case is not hopeless for enough in spirit and tradition remains to the American heart to furnish the outline of a hope for a glory greater than we have dreamed in the day of experimentation working failure. The wisdom these failures can be made to yield us provides the assurance of their non-repetition in the future by those who would build an enduring state, through struggles and shifting fortunes, without the bruising and buffeting of the common people.

The victory is to those who trust themselves. Capitalism, oppressing wealth powers, may be under the beautiful influences of altruism and humanitarianism in theory and sentiment. The present witnesses the lack of practical control by these forces. This is not strange for in the sway of one-sided competition how hard it is for the Ethiopian to change his skin, how impossible for the leopard to change his spots! There are blessings which cannot be entrusted to even friends for preservation, which it is destruction to trust to the keeping of a class whose similar interests are in the nature of a direct opposition. The masses of people will enjoy such all-embracing liberty as they themselves assert and maintain.

CHAPTER XI.

DISTRIBUTION.

If all our workers were employed in their chosen work and all kept busy a reasonable number of hours six days in the week, every week in the year, and all eaters of food and wearers of clothes and users of tools were fed and clothed and armed for work, we would not then have mounted into view of the impossible, and not even the wonderful. But what, to the thinking of some who have essayed to speak on the subject would be equally as marvelous as either, would be the natural. We would have reached such a state. Alarming as such necessity may appear to these, this state must be reached and held if we go not to economic despotism or its antithesis, anarchism.

Overproduction! is the cry when business stagnates, wage-paying industries shut down and the bread earner finds his occupation gone and no other to take its place. Overproduction,—when the value-of-product worker finds his offerings to the sum of wealth resting in profitless decay on his hands or sold at prices ruinous to himself. Overproduction,—and property being mortgaged and homes lost in sacrifice to the demands of interest. Overproduction,—with goods in warehouses, food in bins and the sufferer's pockets innocent of money with which to buy; farmers in need of the products of the shut-down and overstocked mills, mill workers in need of the farmer's store, and the great body of workers who belong to neither of these lists in need of both products. Overproduction,—and men and women driven to suicide or

worse, lives of shame and anguish, a curse to themselves and a menace to society. Overproduction, and all this existing because the necessities of life are beyond command by thousands. Where, in the Devil's name have you hidden your overproduction? By what spell of evil magic have you bound it to its place that it pass not around, gladdening the lives of men? If such a thing as a hampering, unused, supply in clothes and food exists there are hungry eaters for it and tattered wearers, crowded in rank alleys, sprawled in brutish abandon upon basement floors or huddled in pestilential attics, whole families, several families, young men and maidens, old men and children living in a single room in conditions that mock at modesty and laugh in the face of decency. These lives testify to no overproduction, but that of suffering and woe and vice. These they exemplify sufficiently to convince all that there is an overproduction in results other than those held up with such persistency by the apologist. It is a half truth more false than any lie to say that there is an overproduction of those necessities to the material comfort and happiness of humanity while we make and perpetuate situations that render it impossible for any to gain these necessities in a legitimate way.

How to make a just distribution of the productions of labor is not nearly so hard a question to satisfy as the one that asks what is to result if this equitable distribution is not made. The question of the past has too much been, how can we reward capital, and now adds to it that portion that never should have been lost sight of,—how can we with equal justice to all distribute the productions that are a result of the joint effort of labor and capital? The plans proposed by the friends of labor have ever a weakness—to capital, one that would render them totally unfit to effect desirable changes, in the judgment of capital. That weakness is the provision that would force

the holders of capital and resources to share to a legitimate degree the results of production with the other factor to production, labor. Capital, in regulating distribution and proposing schemes for the same is too prone to entirely disregard the creative function of labor. Holders of natural resources have just one law for distribution and that law points the weakness of labor as competition for opportunity proceeds. That capital cannot continue without labor and that capital and resources are powerless of themselves is not considered by their holders and only the necessities of labor weigh in their estimate and fixing of a wage rate. All terms that come short of leaving the employers of labor in possession of the entire product but enough left labor to make it productive, are to capital and monopoly, weakness, socialistic, anarchistic. How much a human being should be made to bear from those who profit by his existence, that the profit may be increased, is a wage rate labor's masters have not openly formulated. The rate governing their apportionments of rewards is twofold in action, operating from the two conditions of human existence and industrial organization; profitable because the numbers engaged make increased production and economy possible, and as industrial relations have been developed, profitable by reason of the competition in labor markets that numbers create.

So if labor finds employment in wage-paying concerns it is by the permission of capital influenced by the general industrial state. If labor receives value-of-products wages at rates at all beneficial, it is also by the general industrial state that it becomes possible. The key to the general industrial state is the degree to which labor is independent of monopoly in opportunities for production afforded by nature. The share of products left labor is in any industrial scheme, the total production minus what

capital and monopoly can take. How much this is will be measured by the degree to which monopolization of opportunities has proceeded and the degree to which capital has lost its legitimate calling in that of the monopolistic. There are times and places making it possible for labor to receive back from capital and monopoly a larger share of products than is usually conceded as wages. These periods do not last, for as competition for opportunity grows and the cause of the extraordinary demand falls off all wages fall back to the old average with a tendency to absolute decrease. When demand for a product is so great that the controllers of production will be doing a profitable business even though yielding to the demand for higher wages, labor will get a part of the modest increase asked. If a reaction follows and demand slackens, down goes the wage rate or the key is turned with labor on the outside of the places where wages are paid.

Go to the squirrel for instruction, ye who have made political economy to be called the dismal science, ye who cannot discern the laws of a just distribution. He labors industriously in the season appointed for him. His wages are the nuts he gathers for his sustenance in the period which does not furnish food for him. These products of nature become his by that feature to completed production which we call transportation and storage for use. Nature has accomplished her part, the squirrel his. If there be inhabiting the same tree another squirrel which has garnered more than he requires of hazel nuts and less than he finds he wishes of hickory nuts and the first squirrel has more hickory nuts and less hazel nuts than he wants, an exchange profitable to both may be effected. If the one finds he can gather hazel nuts with more ease and rapidity and the other finds he can so gather hickory nuts, a partnership of exchange in the future may be established by them for mutual benefit. But if a third

squirrel sets up a claim to the tree in which they lodge and another claims the hazel bushes and a syndicate unite to seize the hickory trees the profit they found in mutual labors would be dissipated as rents. For the tree in which they live being claimed they would have to pay rent for their home; the hazel bushes being claimed they would have to give another per cent. of their wages for the privilege of gathering; the hickory trees being claimed they would have to give another per cent. for the privilege of gathering hickory nuts. They would find longer hours of work necessary to satisfy the demands of rent and the partnership which seemed such a good thing for them would be found later to benefit the rent receivers as all the opportunities of life became monopolized and they were compelled by the power of monopolizers to pay all that they could earn above what would sustain life. Such is the picture of society where monopolization of natural forces is a part of the industrial plan. But the squirrel is wiser than we for he gathers and stores where he will and his wages are high or low as his own industry and ability determine. Go to the bee for a lesson, ye who have said we are established in this way and cannot depart from it. They who work not in the colony of workers are not suffered to continue. They are cast out, even stung and cast out, that their idleness and improvidence may the sooner meet a natural fate. The wisdom of the squirrel and the bee teaches them a truth mankind has too much rejected, from which rejection comes complications without number, sorrows from which we cannot escape until we have learned a wisdom from that of the squirrel and bee.

The genesis of the tramp is in striking similarity to that of the millionaire. In developments and rewards there appears a difference. In the beginning a multitude of men

are looking for a treasury that carries with its possession the right to travel along a certain road and collect gold coins dropped by travelers who precede the treasury bearer. The treasury being discovered by one of the multitude, the lucky man at once sets off along the road, the previous traveling of which makes rich to him. Many of those who were searching, perhaps all the rest, begin to follow the treasury bearer in the hope that some of the coins may again fall to the ground and become theirs. They have not thought that the road is open to all, and the treasure which is provided by their fellow-creatures as much the riches of one as another according to the diligence with which they search. They have accepted a tradition which says that the treasury finder may have all the gold. Since they must have gold to pay their own toll over the highway, some agree to carry the treasury, others to pick up the money pieces for a very small share of them. Those in the van and near to the treasury get a comfortable portion of the pieces and praise the treasury holder and support the tradition. The followers in the rear find scanty stores because the numbers thronging around the treasury keep the ground well cleared. They murmur at their share, but many do not question the holder's right, for the well-paid attendants tell them that it is the only safe way the coins can be collected and kept. But a few whom tradition has not blinded, scattered here and there in the van, the central and rear forces, counsel the multitude to take possession of the treasury in joint ownership and credit each man with the amount he collects, arranging that the head become the rear, the central head, and the rear central in orderly succession at prescribed times that all have an equal chance to collect the riches. At this the treasury holder and they to whom he gives more coins from what the throng gathers, set up a great cry. The advocates of the equal order are de-

clared to be overturners of justice, breakers of the images of the true gods and the people are frightened into turning away from the common advocates; for who, says the holder and his supporters, will pay you wages if the treasury holder has the treasury taken from him, who will keep the treasure if it be denied the one who has always had it? So the multitude rejoice as they are bidden over the rich treasury for they are taught that wealth to look great must be in a heap, and that it would destroy wealth to take from a pile a million dollars and place them in a thousand groups of a thousand dollars to each group. And they follow the treasury in the same old way, weary and faint. There is plenty of money but it is kept in the treasury or sparingly scattered at times by order of the holder that the multitude act not upon the advice of the advocates. Many find it impossible to pick up enough for their needs and as the supply grows less until it reaches the vanishing point, great numbers drop away, seeking other roads. The multitude of men thronging the road finding less coins dropped by their predecessors (because they who precede were also stripped in contributions to their treasury), bid against each other for the work of carrying the treasury and by reason of the competition the holder is able to get it carried for fewer coins and because men will carry it for little he can demand a larger share from those who collect. Many more are driven away from the road or are dependent upon the generosity of those who can command some of the gold. They wander here and there, importuning food, clothes, shelter. We call them tramps and put them into ball-and-chains, setting them at various occupations. Their condition is the complement of the millionaire condition. Of a given amount of any substance to be owned by eight men, if one man owns a half and three own the rest, four men will be left without. The millionaire is an economic

monstrosity, the tramp an economic abortion delivered of the same industrial matrix.

The cast-off employé or the unemployed having nothing better to do, joins our moving army whose recruits increase year by year, marching under the command of Want against the common enemy Hunger. It is hard for misery to stand still, in resignation to starvation or alms; there is a possibility of work, of living by some method less distasteful than a sit-down policy looking to charity for sustenance, a donothingism that negatives the hope of something better. So he takes to the road and our aptness at fitting terms dubs him a tramp.

Broad prairies, miles of rich farm land unused or partly used, acre after acre of valuable suburban tracts, lot after lot of precious city space vacantly staring in the face of heaven as in protest against neglected possibilities, he trudges wearily by. He has not the ground on which to raise the simply cultivated vegetables that would feed his starving family. What is to prevent the homeless, hopeless tramp from going over the line to possess it? There it lies useless, no one reaping from it, no one sowing it to a harvest. Give him as much as he alone can cultivate, and he will feed himself and nine others equally as destitute. Or he, if his meanderings lead him to the regions where such abound, passes idly before factories whose smokeless chimneys speak to him in a language well known in these days. Coal, and mines of other minerals, unworked, while he and thousands are in need of the riches these all were designed to supply. There they are, there is he, idle both, and the world wanting the products of their united powers. Not of the tramp only is this main truth to be said; many who sit in idleness in the centers of population might be with profit to themselves and society set to work or freed from the restraints that prevent their working.

It would be both charitable and wise for the tramp to give his idle existence a motive, to help bestow relief upon his suffering fellow-creatures. Why don't they go to work and earn a living like honest men, is an irrefutable argument and complete settlement to many minds when disposing of the tramp irritation. Infantile curiosity leading to helpless surprise hopefully expressed. The easy solution—shops shut and wage-paying industries of all kinds closed or crowded by throngs who appeal for work, operated by hungry men who are tenacious of their places on the lowest of living wages, land held at impossible rents or for purely speculative ends. Ay, why don't they go to work? All-important question and one that will suggest itself and be asked again, perhaps many times, before all will learn that men must have something more than two hands and a willing mind with which to perform a work. Arrests, imprisonments, various punishments have been resorted to as a compelling means to make men work when all the tools but hands and mind have been withheld.

Surely, since by the sweat of his brow man must earn bread, the tramp ought to go to work and earn an honest living. And for other reasons strong as this—before he like his opposite has become confirmed in his present manner of life, making a living by honest work distasteful to the degree of repugnance to the tramp as well as to the millionaire; before he suffers with the other that change of nature that makes one shun the towns that keep the stone piles and the other resist with all powers those changes in policy that would cause him to relinquish a share of his advantages.

What is to hinder the wanderer in possessing and living by the land no other person seems to have any use for? Question naturally suggesting itself, the answer following with like naturalness. He is prevented by the will of his

late employer or some other one or body of speculating monopolizers who are keeping back this land from use until the needs of humanity compel payment of the price that has been set upon it, or the same cause forces the rent money its holders have determined upon before they will permit this land to contribute its share toward the support and comfort of the children of men. How they come into this power over this element is easier seen than rationally accounted for. When pressed, the question is answered in equivalent if not directness, that they have bought it. Bought it! Those who suffer because they may not use land would be pleased to know of whom it was bought. Of the more than seventy million human souls held in this land, whose heritage we call it, and who knew no more of such a transaction as this buying is called, with a few exceptions, than those who died a thousand years ago? By what acclamatory consent, verbal or otherwise, did you who bought the land, by what sort of real bargaining did you become acquainted with their valuation of the land, and to whom did you pay the money for it? These are questions you would do well to answer before you say you bought land. A fig for such a title were your right to it to be questioned by a power that could discern between good and evil and to whom legality means more than a clerk's parchment.

The wealth of nations in unjust distribution has been the source of national weakness from time recorded. The opportunities for wealth gaining were unfairly distributed from the first or were concentrated to a class control by the operation of conquest and intrigue, so that the classes in subjection had nothing to hope for from the beginning. Hoping nothing, controlling nothing, they received nothing.

Let us see how a nationalization of land would effect distribution in that stage of production which stops short of exchange. Leaving out capital in all monopolistic forms we will have capital in its rightful form which we call wealth devoted to the production of more wealth, such as industrial plants, tools of all kinds, in short, all products of man's labor. This form of wealth as distinguished from natural wealth belongs to labor, as it is labor in manifestation. Labor has been applied to natural wealth and these are the results. There being none empowered to tax labor for private gains, and the only provision against absolutely free use of land being the government tax on it, labor will be left in possession of the entire product minus this small requirement. In a virgin country this would leave wealth in the possession of creators, all incipient capitalists. As development proceeded some of the laborers who by superior skill had amassed more wealth would devote their wealth to purely capitalistic purposes. One would erect machine shops, another flouring and canning mills, and so on until the needs of the industrial commonwealth had been met, each new need being satisfied as it became manifest. These capitalists would hire men to run the work of their various establishments. The wages they would give would hinge upon the ability to command wages elsewhere. Land is free to be used. Each laborer possesses the wealth he fashions, save the small amount required by government. Some of the land yields an increase, or wages, which we will call ten for we must have something upon which to base comparisons. The land yielding ten is in use and employers will not have to pay ten for labor because labor cannot resort to the land yielding that. There is other land yielding eight but it is also being worked and as labor cannot by application to land command eight, employers will not be forced to pay that much. But there is

land not in use which will yield six. This labor is free to use. Now, labor being free to employ self on land that yields six it is plain that employers in order to get men to operate their plants must pay six. For five men will not do the work as it is less than they will earn by self-employment. Seven the employer will not pay for men cannot earn seven on any land unused, therefore they will work for six and he must pay six to get his enterprise carried out.

Now enters capital in its monopolistic character. A change is wrought in the control of land and by this change capital buys up the unused land. Labor does not buy; it uses. Capital, stored labor, buys in the sense that we buy land, while the act of labor or its exchange for acting does not enter so prominently into transactions. Capital by the purchase of land controls it afterward. Labor may not work on the land without paying capital a certain per cent. of produce which is called rent. Government is demanding its share of the produce and since capital owns the land it can compel labor to pay both taxes and rent for the privilege of land use. If the private control of land is absolute, there is nothing to stay the downward wage drift, and it will decrease to the point beyond which labor cannot subsist. All above the point of subsistence can be claimed by capital and the effect on distribution will be to ultimately reduce all workers on lands yielding commercial rent to the line of subsistence while those who control land will be able to command all beyond this that is produced on such land. But the monopoly form of capital does not cease in effects here. While it cannot force labor to a point of reward beyond that of subsistence it effects a class not employed on monopoly held lands and not engaged in capitalistic enterprises. There is a class of producers who are employed on their own land and others who seek to enter

various industrial fields; these are the special prey of monopoly-capital. Capital in this form gets a grant of land, lays a railroad and transports products. Over and over again, as in our country, these road freights are so manipulated that producers discriminated against are driven out and concentration of business control carrying concentration of wealth follows. Capital in the form of joint partnership buys, let us say, a half dozen sugar plants. Leaving out the consequential item of railroad discriminations this partnership possesses obvious advantages over competitors. The legitimate profits on six plants operated by a company would make possible manipulations in prices that would force out others; many would be squeezed out, others would sell out at a sacrifice to the monopoly-bent organization. With increased powers for competition the next turn of the thumb-screws would cause the surrender of stronger concerns until a trust in sugar supplies would be the logical result of repeated operations of this kind. In this way is the wealth distribution affected again. Add to the monopoly of land the power of capital in monopolistic form and to these two the discriminations of a protective tariff, we have the sum of forces in basis and development that makes wealth to desert producers and flow to monopolizers.

Under the first industrial scheme monstrously unequal distribution could not result. There is a margin left for labor by the freedom to use land. Where land is taxed for government use its monopolization cannot result for possession would necessitate use to meet the tax laid by government on land having a commercial value. So speculation would be destroyed and the land would be taken up and used as men needed it. Being taxed only on land for government expenses, labor would enjoy all but the smallest part of what it produced. The personal wealth of every laborer in the land would be measured

by the amount of skill and industry entering into efforts. If none are permitted to take toll from the product the producer will have it all. If a laborer produces twenty and government requires one he will have nineteen left for his own use. If a laborer produces twenty and government requires one and monopoly fifteen the laborer will have four left for his own use. The proposition scarcely needs development to carry proof. The laborer will have such portion of his products as is not taken from him.

Our constitution, if worth the paper on which it was written, guarantees or provides for the guarantee to all of equal rights in the good the land might be made to bestow, with the result, as we see, of these goods being monopolized and used as the source of personal enrichment and means of power over those who do not share in them.

The working of the English land system may be taken as the pattern of our own. While the right to land remained with the people of that island prosperity in a relative degree was common to all classes. If accounts be worthy, five hundred years ago the distresses now cramping thousands of English lives were not known. Increase in population to the degree of overpopulation cannot be said to cause this any more than overpopulation can be claimed as the cause of suffering in this country. Good lands lie unused and the aid of the best tools has made increased production per laborer possible. Five hundred years ago the aids to production had not appeared, and because transportation facilities were lacking a famine in one part of the island caused great suffering through the inability of the stricken dwellers to procure supplies abundant in other parts of the land. But each had a right to land and was able in normal seasons to produce food, and privations were the exceptional experience of a few,

not the continual experience of a large class. With the land passing into control by private owners disappeared the freedom of land use and appeared the order of dependents waiting on the pleasure and profit of landed proprietors. With this appeared also a lower economic order. Not the increased power of producers as found in the use of implements and transportation means could preserve common prosperity. The land, the force upon which labor is exerted in production of wealth, has been denied their use. Of what avail then are all the tools a land can hold; what railroads, canals, wagon roads and ocean steamship lines? They all make it possible for landholders to get more rent from a few tenants. They increase productiveness of that few but they do not help him who cannot claim land.

Nowhere in the known world has the land been wrenched from the people with a more ruthless determination than in this country. Our following of land customs that have in other countries wrought ruin may be set down as a forerunner of the helpless condition American classes will be found to occupy if this order is left to work out its natural results. Land rights constitute power. We cannot get away from the fact. They who control the land will control its profits. If land be monopolized the commonalty will be subject to monopolizers and misery as surely result as that the land is held for profit and not for philanthropic purposes.

Food and clothing we lack not; nor of power and need to continue production do we lack. These are not the causes of want and idleness. What we do lack is a more just distribution of the products of labor; not as a gracious gift of charity, but as wealth left in the hands of producers as justice to those who create it. That is the poorest charity in the world, the most harmful enmity, which would keep men in idleness although every physical

want may be supplied. That is the broadest philanthropy, the justest state that makes exertion self-supporting, that makes self-support the necessity of all capable of exertion. These are the dues of every human being born into this world. Nature never, but perversions of her law and intentions only, designed one man to be a lordling and another the eater of charity's bitter bread.

It is not a redistribution of existing wealth we need. The race, beginning any Monday morning with a fair distribution, can create enough diverse wealth forms by Saturday night of the same week to warrant every one so disposed to take a holiday. Under present methods of distribution the holders of privileges alone could take a rest; workers would toil on for bread. Created wealth now in existence is representative of no more than our inequality of apportionment. It can be duplicated in half the time taken to accumulate it if labor should be unbound and equitable distribution assured. The redistribution of existing wealth would be a ridiculous attempt to right one blunder by the committal of another and such a misapprehension no longer exists in the thought of wealth holders who once feared such an end to be the aim of those who spoke in behalf of wealth producers. The futility of such a proceeding would equal its imbecility. The only distribution we need and the only one that will remedy existing inequalities is the leveling of obstacles that shut out willing hands from opportunities. With labor in a position to pursue industrial enterprises independent of wage-paying capital in its present monopolistic office, the stagnations and gluts common to our commercial life would be impossible. *Why?* Because in brief, men will work for the things they desire. And further, because each granted the control of self-created products, exchange would proceed as long as man continues to need the necessities, the comforts and elegances of life, which needs

cease only with life. One generation melting imperceptibly into the next, these needs would continue. They would increase as to quality with the increased ability of a higher life to supply these goods. The supply would respond to the demand with the exactity that would admit of no waste, no profitless labor. And again, because, labor freed from the purchasing limitations that must ever accompany wage dependence, in different departments would demand and consume to the satisfaction of desires as they appear. There would be steady movement along all lines if those whose needs are constant could command, through any avenue of exchange, the goods their desires reach out after. A sweeping away of monopoly in natural resources would place labor in a way to defy all monopoly possible to be effected under the changed order, if any should remain possible. The increasing skill, the inventive powers of progressive man loosed from the bondage of hunger and the fear of want would place the race on altitudes which are beyond reach of oppression. A system governing distribution that would reward each in measure of worth to production is the industrial plan ideally just.

It is the advantages we have given to some that make possible, by primary inequalities, followed by combinations, trusts and secondary monopolizations, the unequal distribution that entails so much injustice in social ranks and causes misery in the physical states of our kind. These difficulties and perplexing symptoms that have for their abolition and curtailment engaged so much attention, let us understand, are results, not causes of our unhealthy economic relations. Primary monopolization, as in land and the natural factors to life embraced in land, is the great cause from which all other monopolizations originate and pattern. The truth of this is demonstrable to every one who will trace back a single secondary monop-

lization. Land, with its opportunities is at the foundation of all enterprise, and there is no coal trust possible without a private control of land that results, in effect, to monopolization. In such trusts the discrimination of railroads is an important factor, but railroads are also an outgrowth of land monopoly. There is no trust, no combination, to-day draining the wealth of the people into the treasure chambers of oppression but is made possible and buttressed by the fact and effect of primary monopolization. Every such enterprise is receiving additional strength through the operation of laws granting special privileges to classes, granting immunities from the natural and rightful restrictions incident to a competitive system, and under a competitive system we are working in all but those exceptions made by monopolizations and specializations. Had not land been subject to monopolization these powers of secondary force would not have been able to gain an ascendancy over the people and their interests. Equalization of land rights by the destruction of basic monopoly would raze the foundations of secondary monopolizations and render further efforts in these lines all but futile.

Land area as an unimproved fact can do no more to right economic wrongs than the mere coinage of money makes money plentiful with the people. As money must be circulated, land rights must be seized and directed to the building up of a virtual commonwealth where wealth is common to the producer in the proportion of production. Land would be so used when restrictions to its enjoyment have been removed. The law of self-preservation would act to establish a condition of industrial prosperity in the circumstances of all as it now acts to the perpetuation of existence by rivalries and one-sided competition that weakens the stability and power of the classes of labor. In the struggle for existence the common peo-

ple will progress in the development of all the graces and virtues of civilization as the pressure on exertion for mere subsistence decreases. Economic equality, or the condition to such, is at the foundation of a true social organization.

A rich man was asked by a beggar for a dime. Instead of the dime he gave him a generous amount of advice as to how he should go to work and earn an honest living and attain opulence "as I have done." The rich man having discharged his obligation to the beggar, then went home to his luxurious and varied evening meal. After that he attended a ten-dollar opera where he exhibited evidences of his prosperity in jewels on the hands of his wife, around her neck and in her hair; he had the satisfaction of seeing his box pointed out; he talked stock and other kindred topics with a friend and then again took his way to his home. In his sleep that night his stomach, or conscience, rebelled and the rich man had a dream, and his thoughts ran in this way: It seemed that the haphazard combination of circumstances he had theretofore denominated the wheel of fortune, which figure clearly represented his process of success, had performed another movement which left himself at the bottom, the beggar who had been refused alms, and the beggar at the top, the rich man who had said in a so self-satisfied way "as I have done." That is, the beggar had been able to grasp more land than those against whom he was struggling, had gotten the ear of congress in behalf of his particular infant, and, as we say, had shown himself an all-around business man, and had, in short, been able to take and keep the advantage in every thing taken up.

So the rich man was reduced to poverty and was forced to the necessity of work,—actual manual labor, the hardest part of which is the insecurity of place and the meager

wages. It was terrible to go back into that nightmare existence from which he had thought forever to escape. He gathered his family about him that he might realize the unhappy change and from their helplessness draw courage to nerve him for the future. The little ones were crying for food and on his wife's face was a look more maddening than reproach, more touching than tears. The beggar had told him a tale of like suffering, but that night he had been worried over an impending fall in stocks and had no sympathy or money to spare to wretched families of worthless spendthrifts whose capital is accounts like this. This came back to him now but he had no time for reflections; he must look for work. He had an old comrade, an extensive employer, to whom he would apply. The friend was stanch and he was given a place,—another man's place, but the pay was low for he knew nothing of the work and must begin by learning. He must look for another home, too, for the kingly place on the hill echoed to the contented laughter of the beggar's children, and the beggar's wife gave orders to his old servants and reposed amid the luxuriousness designed for another. He could not hope for much of a place, for rents consume and the little ones must have bread. A place was found; it was poor and uninviting but the best he could command. The rent would make an appalling reduction from the amount of his wages but he was powerless. When he had investigated the locality and considered the number he found the building to be one he had owned in the days of his prosperity, but which was now owned by the beggar. The rent, true to its law, had advanced a little over what his last terms had demanded; the increase was not great for the time had been short.

He gathered his little and precious flock into their one room where they could allow themselves only a handful of coal at sparing intervals, because the price of coal had

gone up. The mining company of which he had been a member had elected the beggar president and through his efforts the combination the rich man had been negotiating was consummated, closing the mines until prices should advance through the needs of consumers. This, he found, increased the discomforts of coal consumers as well as the price of coal. He had not troubled himself about the first in days gone by. Being a man of experience and knowing how such things were done, he could not account for the full increase of the advanced price as the mine owners' profits and increased profits of the local dealers were more than represented by the raise in price to consumers. He was fully enlightened when he learned that the railroad company in which he once was a large stockholder, and on whose board the beggar now figured as a director, had also effected a combination that raised rates which came out from consumer's pockets to increase the dividends of the company. He knew perfectly how this worked also but he was on the other side now, and it was his wife who was beginning to droop and it was his children who were beginning to show signs that should never be read on the faces of babes and men.

By mid-winter the beggar's agent again advanced the rent rate. The railroad combination affected the price of food in the same way it had coal, and wheat speculators were at work. The infant industries of the country that had been tottering on the verge of dissolution for more than a hundred years had succeeded in raising a cry sufficiently loud to be heard in Washington and the protecting arm of government was forthwith flung around them in the form of a tariff rate strong enough to enable them to compete against the Pauper Labor of Europe. The rich man groaned in his sleep. His children were hungry and their stockingless feet showed through the rags of shoes. His wife coughed more, but flannels were

out of the question. The last assault on the Pauper Labor of Europe would cost him at least a third more on every dollar's worth he bought; in the things his family most needed prices were doubled; he could not provide for them as he should—it was beyond his possibilities. He wondered if it were not more the pauper labor of America the strong classes somewhat feared and hated as they seemed determined to subjugate that body. Following this came the report of the commission sent abroad to get advice on monetary policy. The foreign powers deemed it advisable for us to lessen our money supply because cheap money attracts cheap money and our foreign advisers feared we might be swamped with an overproduction of money. So as we must crush the Pauper Labor of Europe we must propitiate the money powers of Europe, and in order to avoid the evils of abundant money the government decreased the volume by half. This had its natural effect on wages and business failures swept the country, throwing out workers and disorganizing the industrial society. In his agony the rich man knew not which way to turn for relief. He only hoped for the future; he thought when spring came the discontinuation of the coal expense would leave enough beyond starvation to afford some of the dainties his wife so much needed; many hardships he could not relieve would decrease in severity with the coming of warm weather. He would throw open the one window of their wretched habitation and perhaps some of the blessed air of heaven would drift in, uncontaminated by their neighborhood surroundings; the sun would shine and a patch of sky could be seen from their window. These, only, of their former blessings could they now enjoy. Beyond the summer he did not dare look. He could only hope for better times for all unfortunates like himself, or as the more selfish, hope for advancement in position.

A shut-down was rumored in the factory where he worked ; he was an operative in a diamond factory where the output was limited owing to various causes and the management were indignant that they were not remembered in the infant industry act, and as a cheap diamond like a cheap coat bespeaks a cheap man, they were almost tempted to the appalling revenge of committing the American public to the humiliation of dependence in this on the Pauper Labor of Europe. However, they thought better of it and concluded to let their infant totter on some more to see if its pitiable condition would not melt the stony heart of congress and hasten relief. The rich man breathed easier. Spring, with its promise of partial relief, was almost due.

One night he heard a cry from a newsboy that filled him with a terrible fear. The boy in his haste to reach a customer standing on the platform of a street car just set in motion, dropped a paper. The rich man picked it up, the first daily he had touched since misfortune overtook him. The cause for alarm was real. The Greatest Inventive Genius of This or Any Age had at last succeeded in perfecting his oxygen extractor and condenser and already sought a patent on his triumph.

In less than ten weeks a company had been formed that supplied the appliances for every landholder in the country. Clearly the air is an inseparable attendant of land, a land element, as is the spring of water from under the ground supplying another need of man, and science had at last made it possible for the landholder to claim his own.

The unequal struggle could no longer be perpetuated. He was driven to a step from which his manhood revolted, but the class to which he now belonged had learned many bitter necessities, many duties to their beloved, duties humiliating and bitter beyond words. The rich man stood before the beggar, seeking an alms. His wife was dying

in soul-starvation and his love would ease her last days they were to spend together. His children were worse than dying for more room, more clothes, more food, more air, and his father-heart tore at his breast, his father-love cringed and surged before the picture of their bruised lives, unlightened by the faintest joy, the slightest justice. For her who had been faithful in all the changing features of their united life, he could rejoice that her bondage would be brief; for her he sought only to be able to show the unspeakable favors that the strong bird shows its dying mate; with lovingest attention he would care for her, would bring her little luxuries in support of his tender words. But, *his children would live!* That, coupled with the prophecy of their future was the thought that stung until he writhed in agony of soul. He must provide relief; surely, surely no man would deafen his ears to such a plea as his tormented love would make.—The beggar assumed an important manner and began to cite his own case, showing how easily success rewards those who avail themselves of the glorious privileges granted in this land. It was easy enough if men were diligent and economical; he was one of many. “As I have done”—alas, those fateful words! The rich man gave a mighty cry of despair and started to flee the presence of the man who spoke as he had spoken on a like occasion—and found himself sitting up in his own splendidly appointed bed. He gasped in relief and thankfulness, then sank easily back upon his pillows. A faint gray was discernible in the sky and a sleepy bird twittered from the branch of a tree nearby his window. He could not dare go back to sleep; the rest of the time until his usual hour for arising he spent in serious and concentrated thought. He was trying to recall the exact description of the oxygen extractor as given by the paper the newsboy had dropped.

Dives, clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously could have built a church, endowed a hospital or established a library if his taste had been for such, had such been the fashion, and still have had room at his gate for Lazarus with permission of the medical attendance of dogs. Neither Dives nor Lazarus lost their reward, nor would have lost it otherwise. Dives' purple would have made a gorgeous pew upholstering and the price of one luxurious dish would have been sufficient to present the library with a rare volume, calling for fine phrases from the daily press and causing to appear apologists and eulogists without number. But had he done one or all of these generous acts, would not the money so expended been more acceptable in Heaven's sight if it had been put to the ministry of comfort to the miserable beggar whom Heaven's Son came to redeem? Or been devoted to the destruction of causes that so enslaved men? Read ye not your Book to the contrary, whether it be Bible, the Confucian testimonials, Veda, El Koran, or any other that to you embodies the great truth; if it be only the language of the true heart which says thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, spurn not the message. Midas had gold and a soul; the poorest man in his realm had the greater blessing. So have their kind of this day, but the gold weighs too much in our poor earth-poised balances. The Great Eye looks through the rags of one and the glittering apparel of the other into the real man. Looks through, I said. Brother, that Eye does not even see your cloth, but on the soul is fixed its constant light. In that same light is held a whole people and the trumpery of class-judged national honor and expediency does not so much as kindle a glance from it. Each man is held equally dear in that sight. Doubt this not. The doctrine it is attributed to may be old-fashioned and ye may regard its source as a myth. That weighs not, for all your

false beliefs and arguings to the contrary, there is justice. Whatever doctrine you may openly espouse in support of cause, read not your own soul falsely, but ask if the figure is not the grandest and truest the human mind has been called to consider, the bravest and most god-like the human mind is fitted to comprehend. If you are a true man you must confess, "It is, it is; we are all brothers of a common family." And you will grant too, that man should not have the will, nor, safer yet, the power, to make his fellow mourn.

Dives could have done all that any of his kind has done in a later day to make partial amends to a despoiled people, or he might have done as some of his descendants do in this day, simply tried to squander in selfish use the goods he had,—as in fact the picture seems to teach he did. In either case, if the people whose wealth he disposed of with so liberal a hand had found it compatible with their happiness to have the library, hospital or church, they could have erected these buildings and conducted their work with less expense by appropriating the money to that purpose without causing it to first pass through the hands of Dives.

The picture of Dives and Lazarus is no caricature, no exaggeration of their classes to-day. It is a continuously reënacting relation. The lesson is obvious. Had Lazarus grasped and exercised the right of ballot he would still have had to occupy his old quarters at the rich man's gate had he accepted the right of Dives to dictate his voting. He might have found even this refuge closed to him had he traded his rights political and industrial for the promise of continued occupation. In either form of exchange of vote for value received and in expectation the wish of Lazarus and his prosperity would have received the consideration which was their due,—which consideration under like forms of barter his kind meets in our day.

CHAPTER XII.

INDUSTRY DIVERSIFIED.

Much might be said relative to the importance and wisdom of a greater agrarian activity. The question is both humanitarian and commercial in bearing. If there are hungry stomachs in the remotest corners of earth, if poverty-stricken tenement dwellers pay out the life-bought pittance for a meager loaf, if children in the populous retreats of idleness cry for food, there is occasion for increase of agricultural products. Not the fact that these products have gone begging in American markets in late years is any proof to the contrary. Rather that American consumers have been restrained by inability to buy is the consideration. It is not an oversupply of foods that causes profitless farming; it is not undersupply of foods that causes hunger. Acreage has not been lessened, labor in the fields has not slackened. Heaven has not withheld the rains, the sun, the increasing influences of air and earth that hunger should stalk through our land. Eaters have not gone into a voluntary fast that prices fall. Seasons of greatest agricultural supplies have been accompanied by greatest destitution. Not the desolation of war could have exceeded the horrors of suffering in this way. With abundance of food in the land, cheaper than ever, the farmer could not sell because would-be consumers could not buy. No work was being done, no wages were being paid, no exchange marked the relations of the hosts of consumers whose labor must create goods to be exchanged for the farm's supplies. Each succeeding year increases the abnormal conditions save when an oc-

casional turn in the drift lets the farmer and consumer rejoice in a fairly prosperous season for each. The forced surplus of foods seeking consumption abroad would vanish and agriculture on the present scale be set into a state of prosperity unexampled in years could American consumers demand the goods satisfactory to their natural desires.

Since the prevailing agricultural depression set in, there have been at times as many as five million workers out of employment. If each worker represents three consumers, fifteen million, or one-fifth the population have been restricted in purchasing power in this way. Consumption by this number was diminished to a point where many failed to escape starvation. Others miserably existed by aid of charity or scantily subsisted on meager earnings of the past. The number of workers who continued to labor at reduced pay contributed by their lack of means to the erroneously designated condition named oversupply. This undersupply of purchasing power would account for a very considerable share in the price decline; actual wage suspension is accountable for yet greater influences.

While corn continues to be planted and gathered men will be found to weave cloth, make shoes, to fashion all articles of civilized demands to exchange for it. While humanity continues to eat will be found men and women to give unflagging attention in pursuit of all industries that their wages, in what form soever, may buy the food necessary to continue life and make it energetic. There is no enmity between the different departments of industry. They are different members of an intricate whole, each indispensable and any undue or unnatural favoritism to one or drawing away from the other disturbs the exact harmony that must prevail if all are served in their best interests. Any national or law condition that makes it

even possible for any to be idle and wretched unwillingly is thus harmful and unnatural. One that makes these states unavoidable to great numbers is monstrous.

All have heard the doctrine that the man who does not work for a living is either a thief or a beggar—if he continues to live. If he does not continue to live he is a deceased man of success, or haply, a dead pauper. If we have no respect for the teachers of this doctrine we cannot deny its utter truthfulness. Both classes are solécisms, abnormal growths on the social body, created and fostered by unhealthy social conditions and developments. It is not so much nature that makes men dishonest and oppressive in exercising the self-preserving faculties; it is greatly the opportunity supported by the fear of failure. Those who gain riches by other than honest means are dishonest from circumstances so far as results go. Natural propensities to thievery do no special harm until a chance occurs to exert the inclinations. In private life no one leaves valuables on the doorstep in communities where thieves abound. The home life must be the type of the national life. If our laws had ever been of a nature to render impossible the preyings of the strong upon the weak, or better yet, if all had been made equally strong so far as such helps go, the despoilment of the masses would not have been, as circumstances, habits and laws would have been against as they now favor this order of things.

Where labor is bound to the pleasure of monopoly as with us, there must ever be misery. Capital in the hands of a distinctively capitalistic class cannot employ the workers that are crowded out of work by the introduction of machinery and contracting opportunities. The limitations to consumption resulting from these restrictions will tend with lapse of time to accentuate the difficulties so created. The increased power of production enables

a comparative few to supply the limited demands of hampered consumers, and while invention progresses and monopolization of opportunities more and more close avenues of self-employment, fewer still, in comparison to the whole, will be able to produce a supply adequate to the relatively lessening demand.

Given access to land, the man who starves because another will not or cannot give him labor and wages in payment for labor, will supply his own wants and those of others. He will not only do this but he will be able and anxious to exchange the wealth he creates for other wealth forms that his brother workers create. If one will do this, how much more effectually will the five million. In this way: Five million laborers are out of work. There is no hope for them in established industries for all places are full. Now, what actually would occur in this nation where five million workers are shut out from idle land would not vary in fact from what would take place if land should be opened to use or if what is practically the same thing, a new continent where land is free should be discovered. Providing food supplies is the primary industry. In the case of the new continent the movement among the five million would be toward farming. Artisans, professions, would follow, each occupation receiving the number that would make the most profitable terms for all. The result of opening land to users would in this country to-day as much establish a new industrial community as it would on the new continent. The relief that this withdrawal of competitors would bring wage workers would operate to increase wages and as wages go up all forms of production increase in price; this communicated action and stimulation would reach a healthy limit in both wages and prices and remain there so long as land remained open to users. For as new workers seek employment where opportunities are closed they crowd down

wages and with wages go prices in all unmonopolized fields. Where opportunities are open, the newcomer naturally seeks the work most suited for his hands and as production commands production all products would stand on a basis of equality in exchange according to time and skill necessary to their creation. So in the natural state of industry, some would take up farming, some manufacture in varying branches, some other work and the products in each department would demand and exchange for those of the other, and others. All that stands between us and this ideal industrial state is the dearth of land available to labor. Land that is not used we have in abundance that would give employment to more than the five millions many times multiplied. The scheme is simple; the result would be—Utopian? Perhaps; it would be the commonest of common sense states.

The effect of labor-saving machinery in displacing labor increases at a speed startling to contemplate while keeping in mind the fact that resources, in the present order, are practically closed to labor. To those whose earnings must supply their needs, the situation is appalling. The public domain is absorbed. The hundreds thousands that annually found homes and occupations on the cultivable lands of the country are thrown upon the helplessness, the hopelessness of established industries. There is land, but they may not use it, under the laws. There are abundant resources but they are sealed to labor. Machines increase in number and effectiveness, crowding like sentient creatures for the places, holding on, toiling ceaselessly like hungry men whose ears are haunted by the wails of little ones.

We must effect a relief. We cannot go to a policy of five million idlers, and more fearfully, idlers from necessity and not choice. The thousands, at times as we have seen, the millions, who are tossed by the high tides of

national crises from hopelessness of wage employment to despair of self-employment find a refuge and a foothold nowhere. The number will grow at more than our growth in population for concentration proceeds; the number will grow until the time comes when all may work who will.

In a field of broadly diversified resources embracing as does our country the advantages of profitable application to all branches of industry, laws granting special powers to one form must secure that advantage at great sacrifice to others and very great injury to the people as a whole. The natural resources are the ones to be developed to the greatest profit in order of importance and profit following the lines to which the greatest natural advantages adhere. A free field to all and favors to none, is the very best any law enacting body can do for the multiplicity of business enterprises to be followed in our land. Of the wealth sum in our country, or to be produced in our country, of the opportunities for creating wealth, that which attracts by unnatural earnings draws from other enterprises, or from the products of other enterprises in the amount the favored industries command above their legitimate proceeds. Laws operating to foster certain industries act as a check to the diversity of industry that would spring up; this is done by attracting to favored fields the energy employed in forwarding production. The favored fields being engaged to their utmost of profitable returns, energy will be discouraged from other enterprises to a degree in which the favored industries can do business at profits below what the unencouraged branches offer. The effects of laws like these are of double force in societies making private monopolies of natural resources to further restrict the diversity of employments and developments essential to the welfare of all.

In the wars that have been waged on trusts in production, trusts in transportation and trusts in distributing agencies, the trusts have been able to present one good argument in behalf of their existence, and one which under proper industrial conditions would be a sufficient one. This is the argument of cheapened total rates to consumers. It is mainly true even under present orders. Its deficiency lies in the feature of private trusts that excludes occupation and profits to the masses. If coal should sell at a dollar per ton, the man who is out of work and therefore lacks money to buy must do without coal. The monopolizations and law specializations that make trusts possible deprive the people of their rights to engage in profitable occupations. Of what avail then are cheapened prices? The very forces that apparently cheapen prices under trust control destroy the consumer's ability to command to the fullest of his desires. Lowered rates are only one-half the blessing claimed in full for trusts. The other half is the ability to buy. This ability being totally lacking in many lives it cancels the benefits of lowered rates and brands the trust not a blessing but a curse. This ability being reduced to all but trust operators it renders the trust system an injury to the industrial world. While the products of their departments are put on the market at rates lower than could be maintained without any form of combination, the trusts fatten threateningly. Individual effort and slow-going handicraft replaced by combinations and multiplied machinery have magically reduced prices and yet leave enormous profits to operators. Where competition is a matter of rivalry among individuals, trusts for all their claims to price reductions are the death herald to universal prosperity.

While trust prices are low because of the great savings in expenses of production possible to combinations, they are yet robber prices to consumers being so largely in

excess of the prices that would prevail if a reasonable profit only were aimed at by operators. When trusts have taught the people the wisdom of combination for the profit of those who combine they may be said to have fulfilled their mission in our industrial evolution. The operation of industries by government in those branches subject to monopolization would only be an extension of the present duties of government. To-day government shares with banks the monopoly of money issuance. To-day government competes with express companies for the transportation of packages. To-day government competes with private monopolies in the transmission of messages. To-day government employs men and women to carry on these works, to even inspect the conduct of certain forms of private enterprise and the employés of government are the best paid workers in like forms of service and government gets the most unprejudiced and least selfish service. To extend the influence of government in competing enterprises is only a matter of public choice; the assumption by government of control or competition in all industries subject to monopolization would be no innovation. This leads us not far from the claim that government is responsible to workers to the degree of providing work for all who may demand. It leads squarely face to face with the question of proper government interference in distinction to the complete abandonment of the people to the pleasure of monopolizers and trust operators. Government monopolizes the letter-carrying business and does so at a profit to government, the whole people. Private enterprise monopolizes the oil product and does so at a profit to monopolizers and at great loss to all others. These being the respective results of government and private conduct of monopolies what is to interfere with the assumption by government of the control of resources that have been seized by private monopoly, and

the competition by government in those secondary forces that have also been diverted to a form of monopoly which we call trusts? There is nothing to prevent such control and competition but the opposition to be met in the resistance of plutocracy and the prejudice of the people. The power of the first is fictitious and therefore entitled to little consideration. The patient sufferance of the people perpetuates the plutocratic dynasty. Hence their word would terminate this period. The consent of the people inaugurated a wealth power; their negative would terminate it with great profit to themselves, and with no absolute wrong to the dethroned powers. In fact, the advantages they would still command would be very great in many ways. Aside from the advantages it is no injustice to be subjected to the same limitations all come under, to be empowered with the common rights. Therefore but little consideration is due the opposition to be met here. The prejudice of the people constitutes the real bar between themselves and industrial freedom. Not until they have thrown off allegiance to their enemies will they be able to serve their own cause. Not until they have wearied of shouting "We be Cæsar's subjects" will they be fit to receive their true king.

No man is to be despoiled of wealth, no matter how acquired, in the restoration of industrial rights to the people. Some would be deprived of the power whereby they extract wealth from its creators, but this is not despoilment. A single example kept in mind will forever clear away the befogments engendered by malicious misrepresentations. Government assumes control of a railway system, we will say. The wealth forms necessary to the operation of that railway the past company will be recompensed for in the transfer of control. Constructed lines, buildings, rolling stock, all material constructions would be treated as a purchase to be effected by annual

payments for a certain period or be satisfied by payment of an amount representing a fair valuation of stock. The lands held by the company would not be bought by the people. Its use was granted by the people to the company. Its use would return to the people. In the public control of this railway rates would not be cut to a point where competing roads would be ruined; they would not be put up to a figure where producers would be injured. The road would be conducted on principles that would give the best possible advantages to the public. Competing roads would be forced to the same terms. Such profits as the government railway earned would benefit the people; all dividends declared by its managers would go to the people as stockholders. These profits would be devoted to public works, libraries, schools, art galleries or to whatever purpose seemed best. In this way assumption of control and competition by government clearly wrongs no one, clearly benefits the people. When the people weary of Cæsar they will take away his scepter and put it into the hand of their natural king.

In the two classes grown distinctive here by many signs, we are establishing our social state. It is not the state of which the fathers dreamed. In the life of a nation the time has been short in which we have developed a wealth aristocracy to rule the land; those who exert power by the magic of gold are not considerate of those who abdicate in their favor so that the hardships of the masses grow is not to be regarded as unusual. That the breach should widen between plutocracy and democracy is not unnatural. That the differences marking Havealls and Havenothings grow is the fate of the latter. In the second class there are many divisions. At the head of the class stand the few who receive good wages for the skill and intelligence they bring into their work; shading on down from this class those are reached whose pay is for that of

mere brute force, drawers of water, hewers of wood, machines receiving machines' wages. Not that they lack skill and intelligence; there is not room at the top for all. Lower yet we have the social-industrial sediment, beyond ambition in this generation, humanity crushed down by the weight of a burden meant for all but shifted to a part, a burden light when properly distributed. For these wretched, their lives' hope must be—not to keep out of the almshouse—they are past that glory; fortunate is he for whom there is yet room. Their day dream, their fevered, restless night dream is charity; the beam that lights the path of youth, the support of active manhood, the staff of age, charity. If we knew a broader and better charity than that of bread giving we would snatch down the man-erected barriers, level the law-created powers that shut out humanity from the fields of enterprise and self-support and implant within this nation the germs of a civilization and prosperity the equal of which the eyes of Heaven have never looked upon.

It is disorder, it is destruction, it is death to us to longer continue the order that makes it impossible for honest workers to gain a living by honest work. It is the folly of fools multiplied by the madness of hell to shut out from natural fields of enterprise the workers who ask only the right of self-support, and expect peace, expect the defrauded to be content if charity reaches out a white hand to them and gives them and their helpless ones a meager portion of the wealth gained from fields all have a right to harvest. To expect them to be content if the hand is not reached out is as reasonable. The bread eaten of charity is seasoned with a salt that generates and multiplies discord; the seed of favoritism sown in a nation ripens in the black fruit of death. Our course has been a madness and a folly grown insupportable. It were well when the hour strikes for the setting aside of mistakes if those who

fancy they profit by them show less reluctance than now to yield unfair advantages. Let not right be too much withstood.

We have all the resources that go to make us a mighty social and industrial organization. There is but one thing lacking to make us the greatest nation, in true greatness, yet borne on the bosom of the globe. That one thing is the proper and even development in the fairest manner to all of the powerful productive forces we embrace in our scope of territory, our climatic advantages, our intellectual capabilities.

Industrial freedom is the chief corner-stone in the social structure. Fathers cannot educate children when they must keep them in bread-earning fields; man cannot cultivate the soul's graces when his time is divided between severest labor and necessary sleep.

When a man becomes master of land he becomes master of those who must live upon it, is so trite a saying that all have heard it. It is so self-evidently true that it needs repetition only to keep before us the sense of absolute mastery of the landholder over all that land implies. If the holder pleases to let it lie fallow, agriculture must cease. If he chooses to check industry it must cease in any line dependent upon his possessions. If he determines to keep it tenantless those who have called it home must go to some other place, those who would like to come may not.

If he proposes to let its rich mineral resources remain undeveloped they must do without fuel for warmth and metals for their arts; if he develops these he may ask what price he will, and in combination with other landholders, there is nothing left the public but to pay his price. The wild animals that inhabit its forests or prairies

are his, the water spring is his, the fruits are his. He may have trespassers arrested by due process of law if they but walk on his grounds and the time has been short since sample specimens of land monopolists served warning that certain undesired parties would be shot if found trespassing on the grounds of these sample specimens. If it suited the landholder to do so he could hold a virgin field enclosed by invisible, inflexible and insurmountable palings in the heart of a metropolis, where the eyes of land-starved children might longingly gaze on its greenness but where their feet dare not trespass; where humanity lives tier upon tier, packed side by side like fowls in a crate, but none might live on the landholder's land. Where starvation follows hyena-like the steps of toilers whose meager wages cannot satisfy, but on the landholder's land none dare intrude to cultivate food. Where rent at rates too high for profit shuts up shop and yet the bankrupt may not use this field; it belongs to the landholder. Municipalities are at great expense to care for the destitute, the homeless, the suffering and unfortunate, but no municipality feels strong enough to dictate to the landholder; the collective people are not brave enough to seize the field and use it. The nation with a nation's cares and the weight of social adjustments is puny before the presumed might and right of the landholder.

But the landholder holds land for profit and he does not let fields stand vacant in the heart of the city,—not very extensively. The more essential a possession is to the life and happiness of others the greater financial gains to its holder does it represent. The landholder will therefore demand all the land-starved workers can pay for the use of his land, keeping rent rates in common with other landholders at a line that will enable workers to pay rent and live. The condition of the landless will therefore be no better after the palings are removed than it was before

for the landholder will not take away the barriers until the population has increased the necessity for land to a degree that will insure the common rent rate. Land power being life power the landholder does that which he pleases with his own and the users of his land pay the rent.

In behalf of monopolization and favoritism a complaint has gone up that should forever be the death sentence to the forces it seeks to serve. All have heard the complaint—that the forcing of labor into certain lines of action is, or would be a bad thing. And, to prevent this forcing, special laws for encouragement and strengthening of other industries are passed! So we do not force labor. That labor be not forced laws are enacted to coax capital into certain fields, making these fields doubly profitable to capital. Labor is not forced into fields unprofitable to capital. Capital engages the business favoritism makes most inviting and labor follows capital.

Forcing labor into unnatural fields is unprofitable always. This is what we have been doing by special laws encouraging special industries as a secondary compulsion on labor in further support of the primary compulsion of land monopolization. By the primary compulsion we force labor to seek employment from capital; by the secondary compulsion labor is driven into the employ of capital at wages destructive to the common prosperity. Labor cannot go to land without paying rent; labor cannot be employed by capital except upon such terms as the latter determines and between these two stones labor is ground fine. We compel labor by these means into departments which are profitable to the controllers of labor. Labor is now under a compulsory government as to time and place of work which leaves no choice to the laborer. He must go into the work that promises a living; he must

go out when his master can take advantage of situations by forcing down pay to compel him to strike or by taking cheaper labor in the places of old hands.

Society is laboring under a compulsory system, much being expected and exacted without return; the streams of industrial enterprise that should make habitable and fruitful the land are drained into the poison-breeding pools of tributary favoritism. It is because labor has been forced out of a natural into an unnatural course, because capital has been lured with the promise of immediate and magical gains that ills attend our industrial operations. Lest labor foolishly drift into starvation by a life of husbandry, the land has been given to those who may keep it from being an instrument of suicide. Lest labor recklessly be self-entrapped into a state of independence in occupation, the resources to self-occupation have been parceled out that labor may be given occupation by the holders of these resources. These are some of the precautions the self-appointed guardians have secured to prevent labor, as it is said, from being forced into unnatural lines.

It is the plea of the wolf that would protect the lamb. It has been prolonged until its echoes come back in dreary, barren mockery. It has gone up from so-called, self-styled economists supported by and in the interests of the monopolistic brigade. It has been endorsed in wholesale from the attorney-general's belief that trusts are not amenable to federal law down to the attenuation of a soup bone and peck-of-meal-per-week pamphlets. But many who at first did not know that it had origin and continuation in misapplication and falsity are asking why actual wealth producers are the ones that lack wealth in a country where wealth accumulations are marvels of reality. They further ask why since Donothings have all, Doalls have nothing. They also ask in this clearing away

of inconsistencies why would-be workers starve because they are fed not and freeze because they are clothed not when the whole world stands in need of those very wealth articles they pray to be allowed to create, for which creation they should be recompensed in all they need. They want to know, too, why strong and willing hands are holden by invisible bonds from administering relief to want while the means to such relief lies in unstinted abundance around us.

There are too many inconsistencies, too many discrepancies to be vanquished by an explanation that does not acknowledge a fundamental wrong. Right principles do not result in such evil effects. If our basic relations were under the law of justice we would find no such injustice governing the relations of results. True, some would be born and live in wealth while others would be born and live in poverty, just as some would be born and live normal and some abnormal in mental and physical endowments. But physical and economic diseases would decrease under healthy conditions, with descent from the generation that caused the strains to appear, growing in decrease with the continuation of relief from the causes of each. The number of those who would live healthy lives would be increased from the beginning of the new order. Lust of wealth would not long continue a characteristic of our society for riches are not man's highest ambition; they are not the ambition of any normally constructed man. A desire for a competence and assured relief from the fever dream of poverty is all he asks. Of themselves, riches are not the most desirable possession and few really care for them. It is the possibility of pauperism that goads men into habits of grasping parsimony, reckless speculations and Shylock exactions from those whom they get at their mercy; it is the inevitability that others will go up over their prostrate lives if they

do not go up over others that makes men selfish to the last degree. This possibility and this inevitability are both the results of refusing to recognize wealth creators as wealth controllers.

Had the distribution of wealth in our country been governed by the equality that marked its production we would to-day be a nation devoted to the calm and confident production of more wealth, the pursuit of useful knowledge and the arts, unharassed by the restless, anxious state we know, unblemished by the subserviency of so much of the best thought and energy of our people to mere money getting. The visible wealth of the nation would have been greatly increased, the efficiency of productive forces would be immeasurably advanced by such control over the fashioning and ownership of wealth. A fear of failure, straining all physical and mental powers to the one end of accumulation, even bread winning, is resultant in degenerative influences which have already begun to tell on our national character and are causing our name to become a synonym for greed and sharp practices.

In a land of diverse resources, comprising the foundation for a complete industrial state, no one industry will be developed unduly if production is permitted to take a natural course. The law governing exchange will regulate production with automatic increase or decrease as the demand is. Losses to the entire industrial society will occur when fostering laws are introduced to divert application from forms equally profitable by nature to engage in those which by a false system promise great immediate gains and future power. The detrimental effects of these laws are then seen in the inability of labor to produce without the active coöperation of capital. For where the greatest advantages inhere by nature or by man-made law, there will capital flow until the industry arrives at

a point of development that renders further devotion of capital unprofitable. By the support of man-made law monopolization in these industries will forever exclude mere labor from entering and developing, for by the power of monopoly labor may not appropriate natural forces; by the power of capital labor is drawn to the field most profitable to capital. Where labor is excluded by monopoly the lead of capital is imperative, reversing the natural order that draws labor first and from labor capital. By the close monopolization of forces natural, capital, or the product of past labor, is made to lead the way and the creator is led captive of the creature, the maker is chained slave of the made. Freedom to labor and exchange are indispensable to a true, strong growth, but the monopolization of opportunities makes labor the subject of profit by monopoly kings, and exchange grows fitful and unreliable through the impossibility of labor freedom.

Whatever forms production takes if left to a free and natural course would be for the producers most beneficial. In no form will production in volume much exceed demand even though law encouragements be showered upon special branches. The encouragements will augment profits at home and by so doing enable developers to gain a certain advantage in foreign markets, but both at the expense of home consumers. All man-given advantages are at the expense of consumers; there would be no advantage to one without a corresponding disadvantage to others. So protective tariffs are at the expense of consumers of protected goods; trusts organized to protect the controllers of certain products create protection by the destruction of competition; monopolies protect monopolizers by giving them control over a necessity, for the use of which all others must pay them tribute. Efforts at regulations, once begun, cannot cease while the disturbing element remains. We have tried to regulate

industrial operations, putting industries under the control of a class, that, we say, will develop them. Having done this and the promised development developing conditions unbearable, regulations must again enter in the form of wage, hour, and age regulations, and many forms similar. These things will regulate themselves automatically if not tampered with by efforts that virtually place advantages all on one side. Freedom, economic as well as religious, is the link that unites man to the higher life, the bar that separates the freeman from the slave. If it should be found necessary for all to become farmers, all manufacturers or all of any given craft, that state is the one we must drift into. The state to which the greatest natural advantages attach is the most profitable, the necessary. No harm could come of such a course. The necessary is not harmful; it is only what must be done. It is time we learn this and set about doing some of the necessary things, some of the things that must be done in the way of getting to a natural basis or worse than necessity will overtake us,—even fate.

Through numberless mistakes we are brought to face a situation which fifty years ago to all but the prophetic would have looked to be possible only in the blackest forecasts of the chronic croaker. Idleness in all centers, industries stagnating, starvations, the most active and thoroughly organized efforts at charity notwithstanding, would have been scoffed at as a hideous nightmare conjured by the troubled brain of unrelieved pessimism. Yet in the year of our Lord less than two thousand, in the goodliest, most fruitful land of the globe, the pessimistic picture has been realized. Horribly evil because of its lack of justification is this situation. While his fellow-freemen starve for the fruits of the field, the only market affording a compensation for the time and labor of the American farmer is secured by crop failure in other

bread-producing countries of the world. Prosperity in no field is to be bought by the sufferings of the race. Our policy of protection in the injury it has wrought fleeced consumers, our policy of monopolizations in the disastrous effects on wages and the producing world make it plain that injury will result in injury.

The American people are not and no other people are in danger of having too much to eat. They would not if all were farmers. The danger does not lie that way any more than it lies in the way of too much clothing, too many books, too many pictures, too many of the necessary and beautiful features of this life. There is need of all that man creates, and all being accomplished the law of exchange, freed from restrictions and governments, will happily perform its work of distributing the varied products of labor as far as demands require and all classes will be happier and better.

The law of exchange, from abstruseness, should occasion no stumbling. One man makes rudest plates of clay and fires them in his clumsy oven; his brother laboriously whittles out knives and forks. The first man exchanges plates for knives and forks, the brother exchanges knives and forks for plates and each sets his unpretentious table. The elegant fop who has brains enough to pay for his dinner with good coin or a cash demand on his bank works by the same law. He knows, although he may not stop to think it out, that manufactured goods made by other hands can be readily exchanged for farm and other food products gained by other hands, once you possess the goods to exchange. In himself he combines both faculties of production and need exercise neither. He has an easier and more direct way of demanding each. He owns the ground on which the manufactory stands or on which the food was raised and by his power to command land he commands its products as need or fancy

dictates. If he owned the men who create these he would have like power but in a less profitable form, for he would be compelled to feed and clothe and house them though their workmanship be of a minor quality. Now those workers of minor quality cannot pay the rent and good workers live on the land, so he commands his rent without the cumbrous complexities of man owning.

Own the men? Guardian Angel of Emancipation attend us! Know ye not that slavery was abolished by word of proclamation and constitutional amendment nearly forty years ago? There stands the record and none may gainsay it; the Emancipator even declared that he who would be no slave must own no slave. Only heathen nations recognize the right of some to hold their fellows in physical bondage. The esthetic sensitiveness of civilized nations suffers a severe shock at the mere suggestion. Slavery,—think not of it nor speak the hated word in our hearing. Why smoke of cannon, death agony of wound and thirst and the bitter grief of loneliness; why living agonies of suffering, of crushed lives because of the absent, beloved one who comes not nor speaks a word of cheer to relieve the hopelessness of long years? Why heart burnings of hate, why exalted deeds of holy patriotism, a nation struggling as in the throes of mortal pain, brother with arm uplifted against brother? Because men must be true to their hearts and consciences, even in the hell broil of war whose peaceful issue was the elimination of that accursed institution. It was ever so; it will ever be so when truth calls to the heart of man. The words were inspired and must remain, a keynote in the harmony of universal justice;—this is indeed a world of compensation and he must not expect freedom who consents to own a slave.

Forms differ but results do not. It is all-important to some; form may be the only distinguishment in a national

system. The man who having a grudge against his brother provokes him to a struggle and slays him may be acquitted on the plea of self-defense. He has ridded himself of a hated enemy, but he does it according to accepted methods. He did no murder, the law says, although he took life; he only defended himself. It was a competition in which life was the victor's prize. Had the world known what was in his heart the advantage he gained would have been of short survival. But in the competition which admitted of room for one man and no more the other man was made to give up his life. Forms differ, but there was only one man escaped with his life.

Forms differ but results only can picture the true worth or injustice of a system. There are general and specific laws we must obey, there are conditions all will admit to be wrong or right, but the degree to which they affect the people must stand their surest judge.

The requirements of our national life will be met in a diversity of employment guided by the interests of workers. The opportunities are such that none need be cramped if our wisdom may be found equal to the situation. Two schemes for the control of industries have been proposed, one strictly individual, one individual in competition with the general. The former has cramped industry and pauperized producers; the latter holds out a promise of justice to all. The aim of individualism is the survival of one; of socialism, the preservation of all.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PATH WE FOLLOW.

As our population increases the inability of our present industrial scheme to provide for all becomes correspondingly greater. Capital, as an employing agent, becomes unable to offer work to more than the small part of those who cannot work for themselves. Capital as a factor in the industrial processes merges its purely capital function in that of monopoly. Such capitalists as cannot do this are crushed. It is monopoly-capital that employs labor in the wage-paying fields. And because of monopoly comes the clashes between the industrial classes.

A generation ago, such were the opportunities open to labor that none but the peculiarly unfortunate, those who could not move to newer fields, were helpless before their necessities in material goods. The unappropriated land of the west offered golden returns to him who would go forth and conquer. But that land is locked to him now. It is there, not half in use, but the black magic of private claim keeps him from putting it to the relief of himself or fellow sufferers. A generation ago, such were the resources open, broken fortunes could be mended, labor could enjoy a degree of independence now impossible and there was plenty for all who would work. If work could not be obtained in shop or factory the seeker was not limited to these places of action. Land was to be had, small ventures were not despised or choked in infancy by the merciless competition, the fierce process of absorption which has since swallowed the small investor and amassed in the colossal establishment under the management of a

group of persons the control of an entire branch of industry in a nation. Those were in the days of the man and the tools; these are the days of the tools and the man. Now destitution reaches out lean hands and the tramp infests every community. It is not because human nature has undergone a change and men love to beg for a living or prefer starvation to activity resulting in plenty. Such explanations have been offered but the man who submits them must be one-half fool and the other half knave or wholly the one or the other. No nation, no age has seen a generation in the numbers that we see so suffering that would obstinately abandon work for idleness when support depended on exertion. No social state has witnessed it where the opportunity for bread winning was open to all.

It may be you have heard the advance of the Kings Brigade and hastened to draw the curtain aside as they marched by in the early candle light of dawn. They numbered a dozen or less. Swinging their dinner pails, they marched. Their worn hats set back from brows as true and earnest as ever wore a kingly diadem, faces confident yet grave for they must conquer. The frosty earth trembled with sparkling rhythm for she recognized her masters and rejoiced in their coming, and the brawn of their good arms swelled to the measurement of their tasks. My indifferent brothers, these men of the knotty hands and bespattered overalls picture more eloquently a nation's greatness or perfidy than the silver tones of oratory could proclaim or keen pen of historian delineate. By them are nations known and judged, by them and their condition we discern the march or halt of civilization in the family of man.

You have seen him, the solitary king, sitting down to his lone meal under the branches of a friendly tree. Many passed by in their hurry of cares but few saw or heeded

the royal scepter he had for an hour cast aside, for it bore the fashion of a spade and the stain of clay was upon it. But if you loved him you moved nearer, not in curious impertinence, for that is not born of love. When you saw his repast generous in the substantials you passed on glad; if something beside these you smiled inwardly and thought of the tidy wife and the little home, how she arose early in the morning to prepare his breakfast and the solicitous thought she gave to the arrangement of his dinner. You thought of the comforts of his home-coming when the day's work was closed and the happiness you gained lasted you the rest of the day and colored your thoughts long after. If his dinner was scant and hard you saw more plainly the stoop in the shoulders speaking despair, the worn clothes seamed and patched, and you passed on with a sorrowing bitterness in your heart and you wondered how long the world would have iniquity to rule rather than righteousness. And the picture of the dethroned king will come to you without an effort of memory when you are seated at table where gay company and brightness bid you forget as the world seems largely to have forgotten that hunger and despair are in the world.

You have passed the knot of despondent idlers whose distress over cold hearths they could not forget. The downward, weary look, the pitiable dejection spoke in the language of the heart. Then you felt the impotence of one soul to level the mountain of error that blots out the sun of righteousness in men's lives. You have seen little children in the streets whose wan bodies half-covered, heralded to the world the story of their lives and all the strength of your soul rose in fierce wrath at the wrongs to those whom the holy Nazarene set before the world as examples. In attic and cellar, in places of vile resort you have known of lives sunk into deeps from which there

seemed no redemption. And when the populace turned out to honor a hero as one to whom honor was due, when flags waved and men shouted, throwing up hats and when women smiled and fluttered handkerchiefs; when words of living eloquence called tears to the eyes; when you listened to tales of heroism that would make the meanest man valiant; when you read the story of glorious deeds and your heart swelled with grief at wrongs and then leaped to follow how they were blotted out in blood and you applauded the killing of monster wickedness embodied in human shape, you thought of these. And while you thought, truth and conscience brought the swift conviction that there is more in the brave bearing of their lot to huzza at, more to pity in their continuation in this state, more to condemn in their oppression than in all the rest.

The present age has less of excuse for wrongs of man to man than any time past. There has been advancement made in the ethics of government and human responsibilities to human kind in social zones, in intellectual force and advantages for material advance that makes wrongs such as exist to-day more unpardonable, more damnable than ever before in this world's time.

The miseries are not those of nature's infliction. The power that sustains the worlds has not inadequately provided for the intelligent creature to whom was given dominion over all creation. The material is at hand for the satisfaction of all lawful desires. Our grim, silent, old earth-mother loves her children; would be the most provident and tender-caring mother but that their willfulness flings back at her the gentleness with which she would nourish them, rejects her bounties held in easy reach. From the moment they open their eyes in the light of this world until they close them in the last sleep of cast-off mortality, she fails not in her part. Not until man has triumphed over her to the wronging of his

brothers, not until wrong is able to contend with right and falsehood with truth, when the pristine law of justice has been supplanted by deceit and usurpations and strength-seized powers, and the laws of man have defied the laws of nature, does a dearth of earth's fruits cause want and woe in the family of man. Had we been wise enough to discern this law, had all nations of all times chosen to walk in the blessed radiance of its light rather than stumble in bigotry and error through jungles of darkness because they loved evil, these calamities that have now overtaken us would not even threaten.

Much has been and much remains to be said, truthfully said, of the opportunities lying before the child of America. The possibilities for some of them are great, such as the great heart and soul in all ages and generations of the world have seized upon or created, with perhaps more to overcome; such as have blessed the world because of brave and great lives and influences. The openings here for these exalted livings are to be found principally in our high valuation of virtue rather than in any more tangible inducement to successes. America has blessed humanity and taught the race many rudiments of man to man truth and will continue to do so. It could not have been otherwise by the very facts and circumstances of our nation's launching and continuation. The spirit of liberty had been fitfully manifested in old-world civilizations, but only as the ignis fatuus, to recede from the arms outstretched to grasp it. America was discovered, populated by civilization and government that liberty and right, tired of struggling with the besetments and obstructions of the old world and old-world ideas might have a champion and figure worthy the approval of heaven and true men.

Much has been accomplished in the heaven-imposed task. Much is before us that must be accomplished. Much accomplished in the beginning has been annulled in effect and must be restored, for greed and the lust of wealth would trample down all the sacred rights of humanity and set up their unholy altars in the temple of liberty while the powers they usurp protect and abet the desecration. To such spirits there is no sacred thing, neither the God-made nor God-maker. Their strongest motive in pursuit of their ends is good-destructive, their ambition gain, their god gold. That affairs in a large measure have been handed over to them and our sacred ideals set at naught for their schemes is no fault of theirs. They could not but reach out for the power and lack of vigilance secured to them the prize which no force of arms could command. Money is the sole sublimity of human existence to hearts of this class; they know no law but that of money getting and like all who have but a single ambition they bend everything to the accomplishment of their hope. They have attained an influence in government that is unsafe. We have given them a bill of sale on the present and a mortgage on the coming generation.

Equality of opportunity has been devoured of this force. The treachery is the more complete being accomplished by means of the very agency designed for the public safety. Through the din of conventions and the bluster of campaigns is to be heard the chink of gold at the tables of the money changers; in legislative deliberations it can still be heard, ominous of evil or revenge as the forces of plutocracy are pressed back, soothing, with lying silkiness of false assurance as they advance and parley for better grounds. In dealing with the sacred and solemn responsibilities of humanity to man the same diabolic music goes on. Gold, gold is the power they use and obey, the power we too, while under their dominion, must obey.

The pity is that they have been allowed to pollute the temple by their unhallowed trades. The shame is that having polluted it so long they are not forthwith whipt from it.

What we have been able to accomplish in the way of fastening bondage on a nominally free people must pass unchallenged among its kind. What class control of wealth resources we have taken in all about a century to effect, England has done in certain domains by the small effort of occupation, a trifling expenditure of ammunition and the laying down of some English lives and many lives not English. But the method of the conquerors and administrators of America was the only one possible to them. On the whole it has been cheaper for the powers of anti-democracy than the policy pursued abroad. When American resources have been so appropriated that American investors feel the need of a wider range, and when they have become powerful enough to compel acquiescence with their demands, we will be called to a like line of action. The advance guard of monopoly look even now to foreign fields of enterprise. Our national policy is being stretched to cover insular domains in the Pacific where trusts and monopolizations seek to instruct a less advanced people in their kindergarten of a civilization such as they are becoming the stern tutors of in America. The essence of the Monroe Doctrine is being diluted to reach out across the waste of Atlantic waters for possessions there, that the protection of American laws may be the safety of would-be plunderers of semi-savages.

After any of the great tribal migrations of Asiatic or European peoples in the earlier ages, comparative repose dwelt with the numbers finding a change, a spreading out, necessary to their preservation. This quiet prevailed so long as the comparative equality of condition first insti-

tuted prevailed. As the resources of the acquired country became more centralized, as wealth concentrated and oppressions grew, unrest and uprisings became the order. Such is the enfeebling effect of infamously gained wealth on a strictly wealth power, such is the disorganizing result of oppression on the masses that no race can withstand the disintegrating leaven of a supreme plutocracy. These states yielded readily to the tumultuous waves of barbarian masses impelled by the thought of spoliation and nerved with the vigor of freer, less oppressive conditions. The assailed had no hope of successful resistance against the demands and encroachments of their virile assailants. The wealthy classes were too small to make a force and too effeminate had legions of their kind sallied forth to withstand the invaders. The oppressed classes had no more interest in the triumph of the native plunderers than they had in that of the oncoming horde. A change of masters signified not any thing to them; their estate could be made no worse. If the conquerors starved and beat them, desecrated their homes, so had their first masters who had promised them defense. If the newcomers killed them off like plague-stricken animals that there might be room for the followers of the invading chiefs it but shortened their misery, and the school in which they were reared had taught them to value their own lives as little as they valued the lives of others. Their outlook was a miserable life to be ended by death as ignominious as the life they lived. Such a people are at the mercy of their enemies but there are none so much their enemies as they who have sunk them to that depth in which they exist.

In our country society started forth on terms of equality for all, in claim, and such as our claim still. America with virgin opportunities and marvelous wealth possibilities presented to all classes the hope of a complete equalization, where the limitations of overpopulated and power

grasped resources of the old world could find no entrance to prevent the working out of a social state hitherto unknown and scarcely dreamed of in the rosiest pictures of man's mind, and which should stand as an ensign and a pattern of success to all coming worlds. But the possibilities for such a result were not secured and when vigilance slept monopolization entered and at once the drift changed. The American laborer in a few years passed into the social and economic state of his fellows in the old world, and in places the class fell to the level of the most unhappy of this kind. The absolute degradation will be complete in a few years if usurpations continue. The condition of the most wretched reaches out an extending influence, drawing within its ever-widening limits circle after circle. Wages sink with a steady persistence, not even retarded in ultimate movement by an occasional upward move in some limited quarter. Opportunities draw constantly closer to a complete monopolization, whose signs are riots, low wages and social unrest.

As our beginning provided a choice for transcendent right to the avoiding of the mistakes of past efforts, our latter experiences have shown us miserably unequal to the superior alternative presented. We have proven lamentably inadequate to the opportunity provided, without parallel, for a civilization and a government on planes of justice impossible for years to come in the nations bound down by the iron law of custom and mis-education in the rights of man conjointly with the rights of kings, be those kings hereditary rulers in political spheres or class favorites in any realm whose existence as such works detriment to the masses. A nation founded upon and grounded in a brutalizing oppression of the masses requires hundreds of years in struggle and educational effort to lift up the great body of people to a plane of self-assertion where they will demand and none dare re-

fuse their requests. To begin at that plane and go down has been easy and a matter requiring but short time with us, presenting the most unhappy retrogression the ages have been called to witness. Of itself, republicanism is futile. The rights of citizens in any state will be buried under the foundations of oppression unless the people institute and maintain conditions granting freedom of opportunity, essential to the continuation of the rights of all. This was the glory set before us but were disobedient unto the heavenly vision.

Openings for small and new ventures have ceased to exist; competition in its legitimate functions is dead. There is no place for beginners but in the employ of established businesses. Opportunities to become wealthy by any but gambling means, to engage in profitable industries are becoming heirlooms; if the gambling opportunity possesses permanency, it has also been covered by a perpetual patent. Occasionally a struggling recruit succeeds in working up to the front ranks by some route his genius discovers, or through the fall of those ahead of him. But always through some unforeseen happening. The chances for success in a fair and free field are against him as the field has ceased to be fair and free. His hope of reward, of sustenance, is daily becoming more a question of his ability to get on the payroll of a hirer of labor or to edge his way into the ranks of those whose rewards are indirectly drawn from the same source. The youth of to-day who has ability, energy and eagerness, stands practically no chance of succeeding in establishing an independent industry for his own and brother's good because the resources to such industries are held by private owners and governed to crush out beginnings. That he could do so has been one of the national fictions which glossed the wrongs our industrial policy practiced. Industrial ability

now and to come, until we change this order, must be tributary to established concerns, and ultimately their prey.

Only on the unfortunate have we caused nature's and reason's provision to hold good, that whoever does not work may not eat, the infant, the feeble, the fool excepted. Too often do we abrogate that law, the wisest and most indispensable safeguard of the morals and happiness of the race. Idleness, indirection, are unsafe and unwise whether followed in elegance or vagabondage. The reward for all indolence should be the same, for nothing, nothing. But we have said to some, Ye work not, therefore suffer, ye and yours; starve in the face of plenty ye may not possess though striving bitterly and with your best effort; thresh not, O oxen! thresh not, neither for yourselves nor for your masters. To others we have said, Ye work not yet eat of the best that nature improved by man can provide; wear the finest robes and delight yourselves in the luxuries that only the genius and advancement of this present day make possible.

To the one class that toils not nor spins we have shown contempt, coldness, disgrace, notwithstanding the fact that we have made it impossible for them to do so. To the other like class we have shown honor, so-called, subserviency, and showered them with fatal opportunities. The depravity of one and the profligacy of the other is a theme for moralists, religionists and reformers who lay the burden of it all upon the supposed tendency of the human heart to sin. Let not man judge between the Dives of special opportunities and privileges and the Lazarus of human neglect and defraudment. No finite judgment may be passed as to the extent of influence that environment of thought and companionship has upon the morals of mankind. But one thing is certain: if the princely condi-

tioned voluptuary and the slum dissolute were put to work at some useful occupation the Devil's force would be two men short the greater number of hours out of every twenty-four. Idleness luxuriating in a mansion or lodged in a doggerly produces the same results—the perversion of morals, human activities and desires.

If any sleekly comfortable and well-fed, self-constituted judge of humanity and the human heart preaches the unreliable doctrine of morality for morality's sake his ideas and expositions of what should be are correct enough, unquestionably. If he contends that it is more of natural depravity than unnatural environment that conduces to the low moral tone of mendicants and wretchedly conditioned workers, let him exchange spheres with one of those whose weaknesses he holds in such pity and scorn and see if it be not easier to live a virtuous and exemplary life, with Pharisees for judges, in his than in their circumstances. To be good the world must be comfortable. The child reared in semi-starvation naturally steals food; with him it is not wrong to do so; with many it has ceased to be a sin because human life is coming to be regarded of more value than the petty affair called property rights. To be happy, we must be just to ourselves including all, for happiness is not the fruit of injustice. Goodness and happiness are both the heritage of man and both are in the world, did the world but know how to attain the state in which they will consent to visit and bless the lives of men. But the remarkable ability of human life to adapt itself to environment, scientists say, is the one condition of survival. That is to say, if parents accustomed to the airy space, the woods, the grass, and smiling brooks reflecting azure skies, should move into a neighborhood of smoking factories, dirty, foul smelling streets where the greatest stench in heaven's nostrils is, after all, the cause that makes the situation,

their tender babe would languish to a death of inanition induced by lack of moral life force, being further enfeebled by lack of physical nourishment common to such lives. The hardier and less sensitive composition of the parents would withstand the strain, absorbing as a matter of self-preserving inoculation the poisons generated by that atmosphere. The complex nature of human existence as found in the two would transmit to subsequent offspring an increased power of resistance to the elements fatal to the child transferred from pure to foul surroundings, so that in the third or fourth generation this power would be increased to yet stronger development,—to a point where the embruting conditions enter into the very core and fiber of child life.

New York City as a type of the ultimate social state toward which we move, shows some things worthy of note. The sea-girt city is the clearest example of what appropriation and monopolization can do. The land of the island cannot be added to, but it can be easily subtracted from in available space through the arts of landholders. So likewise can all land. In this city it is said four per cent. of the entire population live under separate roofs, the remaining ninety-six per cent. live under roofs with other families. There is sufficient kernel in this for the moralists, religionists and reformers of humanity to last them many days. When children to the number of nearly two hundred are herded under a single shelter the baby farm will flourish; while the soil remains so fertile and the crop so prolific compared to space, babes will not command more than a dollar each in the markets where such trade is growing common. The desertion of infants, urged by the pressure of poverty, child murder to secure insurance on defenseless bodies are also some of the fruits of poverty and the accommodating capabilities of human life to a settlement to the level of environment. What

greater condemnation could be passed upon the causes leading to home conditions of which it is said that one way to abolish the saloon in quarters where the rate is ten saloons to one church is to bring the rest of the neighborhood up to the level of the saloon. Home surroundings less inviting than the saloon assert the hopelessness of attempting to force reformation through the abolition of those resorts that are more in keeping with human ideas of neatness and comfort. This asserts too the advisability of elevating, by some means, the home above the saloon level.

There is one surpassing evil in our midst; in the whole physical universe of God there is no shame like that which causes hunger in the body of a child. This shame increases with our numbers and wealth. That men should lose the strength of manhood in the lower depths and through generations of insufficient food grow stunted in size and diseased in body is a horrible thing. The cry of a single little one for bread penetrates the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth beyond the prayers of a whole nation that sin and suffering may cease while their causes flaunt, and the cry of that little one blots out the prayers, flinging them back to earth barren, a curse upon the supplicants. That there is a lower depth beyond the solid basis of a comfortable living this same God will hold us responsible for, do not doubt. That the poor have been ever with them has caused the gold and silver of nations to canker, their riches to be food for moths. The nation that sinneth, it shall die; has died, always.

A bishop has done some calculating. He finds, that in a given field, it takes one hundred nine missionaries and something more than one hundred sixty thousand dollars to convert one little heathen girl to a system of theology that sees annually many little ones starve, many more enter

upon wrecked careers, doomed from the beginning because of unjust economic conditions. Poor little girl! Ah, one hundred nine missionaries! Alas, one hundred sixty thousand and odd dollars from the wealth of a nation that cannot save the physical lives of its many poor, that does not let them be even self-saving. Do ye indeed reckon that the force devoted to the work can save in our way the soul of one little heathen girl? Let us trust that the issue will be even such, or at least, no less fruitful. It were a pity if no good came of it all, if the little heathen girl had rejected the kindness and obstinately clung to the theology of her fathers which brought her food and clothing in the degree of her desires. If the little heathen girl should refuse to stay converted it would be a grievous thing. The effort engaged so much that the hungry little ones of this land will rejoice at so great a salvation. They only lack bread, and clothes and human love. They have a sufficiency, and it might be said by one critical, a superfluity of theology.

How much the deprivation of physical force has stunted the intellect and blunted the soul qualities of the oppressed, so retarding humanity's progress, can never be conjectured. We know that to reach the highest and best development, comfortable material surroundings are imperative. Occasionally a bright-shining genius flames out of the great sea of poverty but it is only to express the truth that mental gifts are not heirlooms, that the masses may have a figure. All are not bright-shining geniuses but all are immortal souls with immortal rights. These rights declare for all the best possible lives. That thefts, homicides, despoilers of virtue, that all moral filthiness finds shelter in comfortless abodes of penury and beggary does not astonish the one who weighs physical surroundings and their influence in the scale against mortal's moral transgressions. The business of the world is the blotting

out of causes, not offenses, for offenses will not be removed while their causes stand.

Absolute deterioration in the lowest economic class is marked in our country. The number so influenced is growing. Half a century ago could not be found in our population the suffering that is now experienced in a single metropolitan city. The vices common to pauperism have kept an even growth. The God-image is not developed by the conditions that make life a struggle for bread. The beast-image is followed in the order that makes strife for physical necessities the paramount aspiration. The deadening of sentiments and affections natural to the human heart is not the least evil growing out of a state of chronic poverty. With no time, no means for the cherishing of these feelings there is a growth in hardness which accounts for the depraved state of physicality, mentality and morality in societies where effort to gain a mere subsistence is pressed to the limit. Conditions of life unnatural, crimes horrible, moral states far below many forms of brute life and mental endowments but little above, are some of the penalties societies pay for injustice to a class.

The competitive industrial system as we have experienced by the constricted development of powers and the violence done mental progress retards by so much the advance of the race. The stuntings, hereditaries and enfeeblements caused by the operation of economic inequalities weigh on social development by hindrances to individual cultivation with a pressure none can estimate. Those communities where child labor is restricted and where labor of women, especially married and young women, is governed by strictest regulations, show the best industrial conditions. This, to leave out all questions of morals, is a thing worth striving for. In our own country the rule has been found to hold good. It is also found that wages will be higher in the fields employing most

efficient labor. Investigators claim that English superiority in industrial competition is due to regulations of this nature. The effect on the higher life of the people by the extreme development of one-sided competitive industry is a part of the equality privilege we in this land dare not ignore.

There are said to be one and one-half million women in the work places of this land. That will have its bearing on the lives of the coming generation. The number of women in cities who resort to prostitution as a means of bread-getting is horrifying. In one population it is rated as high as one to twenty-three. Even the apologist for love of mother, honor of sister, respect of wife and pity for daughter dare not attribute this awful state to causes other than the one assigned. In metropolitan quarters girls are paid by big firms such wages that they must sell their bodies to shame and their souls to the Devil that the added money they thereby receive may with the stipends they are paid for long hours of hard work help support themselves and those who look to them for shelter and bread.

The average family has been computed at five in number. The wage worker can be counted as one to furnish his average. He has been blamed for this and various propositions have been advanced for limiting the number of human beings finding shelter in homes of the people in this class. It is hard to tell if the theorists who have sought solutions of this apparently difficult feature of class economics are unintentional fools or deliberate philanthropists, but certain it is their theorizing has not resulted in the benefit to the race they hoped for. One item in the population record worth considering is the fact that economic conditions as they exist to-day discourage marriages in the middle and better class while the lower orders marry and multiply at a rate that sets Malthusianism in an ecstasy of excitement. Those who believe it is

the right of every child to be well born, well cared for, well educated, refuse to take up the responsibility of parenthood if they are so circumstanced as to be unable to discharge all the duties that state imposes. The theorists have yet to gain the recruit who will advocate a reliable remedy for the condition that appeals to them with so much force. The stinging-worded Swift proposed a way effective enough. But the period between his era and that in which noblemen were authorized to kill a limited number of serfs, only, when feeling the need of a blood bath had been a long one and custom is strong; so his remedy lacked what other remedies have lacked—application, for the palates of those to whom he offered his patriotic suggestion had been trained to a preference for other flesh than that of babes from the breasts of starved mothers.

The population theorist has not suggested the possible remedial effect of decent living circumstances to check the increase. He has noted with horror that the miserably destitute number the greatest increase per marriage but he has not theorized on the possibility that a lessening of destitution would lessen the increase. He has not argued that better circumstances would make possible a better grade of citizens at the same numbers. He has seen that poor marriages average large increases and Malthusianism plods muttering in querulous discontent while misery propagates its kind ignorant of the charitable designs of the checks preventive and positive. Society sandbags the worker for funds to support the indigent and prosecute the criminal after both have been stripped of all means of self-support.

That men should wear out strong lives in an aimless donothingism more wrecking than the hardest manual toil; that they should ever behold with eyes gaunt from hunger the feasts of plenty placed just beyond their reach

is not the fault of nature. That delicate women should know the pain of hunger and the sting of wintry blasts or be forced into work unwomanly, unfit, and yet suffer want, is not because their natural protectors are indifferent to their distresses but because these strong energies are made impotent by the decrees of man. That the children, oh! the little children!—that they should learn as life's first lessons the soul deforming ones of bitter want and neglect, destined to lives of embruting ignorance and destitution, the soul of humanity and christianity protests against. More pitiful far is such a prospect to the clear-seeing beholder than could be any little hunger-shrunk, death-stark body it is possible for the eye to rest on. The one a living, tortured, the other a dead, unsuffering, embodiment and evidence of wrong somewhere. The first more sorrowful, more cruel, more dangerous than the last. Not, in either case because it is a curse for them to be born into a world where plenty was bid run riot, nor because their natural guardians and providers are callous to their necessities or willingly negligent of the deepest, most solemn human obligations. The obligation, the command to grown-up humanity is in behalf of these, that they should be reared among the best influences, that they should be educated in the best possible way, that the high and rough places should be made easy of ascent in their progress to nobler manhood and womanhood as the world moves on to higher ideals and facts of human possibilities. This, the future good of the race, the success of humanity demands. Yet these, the hope of our future and our legacy to the world and time we are condemning to failure.

By instituting an industrial system that provides employment for all who desire is to make certain a great diminution of crime. That idleness begets crime all know.

But this is not all of that part of the case. Idleness must be fed, clothed and housed, in a manner, the same as industry is. If not honestly, then dishonestly; if not in a palace, then in a pig-sty. If not by self-exertion, then by the state. Sloth will consume as much as industry for bodily sustenance and additional supplies. If idleness and indigence rely upon self-resources what ought to be self-supplied by honest application and economy or left ungained is gained by fraud in some form. What ought to be gained by industry and economy or left ungained is often secured by fraud in some form among the class spoken of as enterprising and substantial citizens, but sufficient for the present purpose is it to speak only of those who steal from necessity and not from choice, of those who keep life going by fraud and not those who make it opulent in that way. Most men are better pleased to earn a living by honest labor than by sly shifts and thievery; those who would not can be roughly classed as tramps and beggars by choice and legislation encouraged, tax-pampered monopolists. If there was waiting a reserve of undeveloped wealth for the child to draw a living from by creation and wealth exchange there would be none to say there are too many babies born into the world. If the field upon which he was to sow and reap crops was not anothers to claim all but the entire increase, each would make the world more comfortable by fact of his birth and strength. The field being subject to private rent he must pay the rent even though he and his children suffer and Malthusianism heap up evidence of God's insufficiency and indisposition to care for his children. If the rent be too high and he be shut out altogether he or some of his encounter the check positive and the doctrine of insufficiency is justified of her predictions and observations.

Of those who are rendered subjects of charity by conditions variously named to mislead, as overproduction, hard times, scarcity of money and what not, it will be found that a lack of land is at the foundation of their helplessness. Of those who can and will not work, those who work for substance then spend it in riotous living and come to want, since nature has not, man should make no provision unless it be in compulsory workhouses where at least the cost of maintenance would be repaid by the labor of inmates. But even these, few as their numbers actually are, could not come to be public charges if open opportunities existed. Self-chosen idleness is in itself a crime and should be punished as such. But idleness of all kinds would cease as workers were secured in their earnings and desperation at systematic robbery would be succeeded by a calm sense of safety in a just industrial order. Idleness is said to be the cause of many of the most awful acts and inventions against society. But idleness is itself a result, and never a cause. It may be an opportunity, but the cause of idleness is the cause of all that marks the further drift from natural human conditions. The social adjustment that would call out all the natural activities of man would by rendering a dearth of causes correct the evils preying upon society and by forestalling the opportunity prevent the act. We recognize work as a corrective measure after crimes have been committed. Men are put at hard labor as a punitive measure and to distract their attention from their surroundings and the past in which physical inactivities gave time to the plotting and execution of plans of crimes. Had law compelled work before it would be a wiser penal system. Had law made it possible for this class to work at a fair reward, the crime would have escaped committal; for the few in any population who would choose idleness even then, a regulation that punished persistent

indolence with a prescribed amount of work would, in most cases, save offenders from crimes greater than idleness.

We compute wage averages and say the wage scale is high or low as the average appears. It only approaches justice as this average approaches the full earnings of the worker. Paying a man three hundred dollars a year when his earnings are six hundred is presenting some one who has no right to it with half of what is rightfully the worker's. So the system that beggars workers and creates a wealth aristocracy is a system of robbery in one or many forms. It may be the form of robbery that operates through monopoly in natural fields, it may be that form known as protective tariffs, it may be other forms of capitalistic monopolizations as in the control of railways to the ruining of competition among producers and the building of trusts to control production.

Not a living of mere food and shelter is the guarantee that discharges the obligation of society to the individual. There are other necessities in the line of education and higher culture our age provides and makes imperative. All these are his right. How far we are from a guarantee of rights may be dimly seen in the number who labor for the barest, scantiest necessities, and the effort of manly brawn being insufficient, the worn, scantily nourished mother and tender children must add their quota of puny energies to help carry burdens beyond their strength. Yet how many others die of actual starvation, how many sink into premature graves because they cannot command such protection from the enemies of human life as must be had to fill out allotted years. How many fail to live lives of such fullness as is good for the world, cramped lives because unfoldment is denied; how many live lives of evil because there is nothing in their surroundings to call forth good, but all to encourage evil and repress good;

how many children have a promise of poorer lives than their parents. How shall we answer for them, how defend ourselves in the day of reckoning, which if you do not believe comes to individuals, your knowledge of history and what it teaches tells you comes to nations? The structure grows as the builders build, and what we weave into the national life must show, finally, in that life.

Men will be good while there is that in the multitude of surroundings making up life that teaches and shadows forth goodness. All would be moral darkness, the blackness of hopelessness otherwise. Men could and would work if they were given a chance to do so and charity funds could be devoted to better uses. But men cannot work without land. The possibilities for good citizenship through employment for all which a right land policy would bring about would be worth more to the people than all the grief many times told would cost that would come of the setting together of dry bones to inaugurate this beautiful order. There would be grief and expostulation and threats and false prophesying and dire lamentations preparatory to obedience to such a command for the bones are exceeding dry and have come to love their valley much. But there would be life!

American laborers have not as a class reached that point in the tendency to labor absolute dependency where mere brute wages of hay and stall are enough to satisfy and occasion grateful thanks. May that day never come. The spirit of the workers strives against it. Hence the labor uprisings of late years, one for a year, the industrial world over, it is becoming possible to say when foreign complications do not enter as an impulse to continue production, so keeping the wheels of industry astir, dimming the common perception to the schemes of enemies at home in the watch that sits for enemies abroad. When these

impulses give way and the order of entirely domestic interests again sets in the path is found narrower than before. Season of national peril and revival of uplifting patriotism is the time for the seizure by the wealth powers of opportunities which are not presented at any other period.

Labor is not stupid of intellect, the accommodating principle has not long enough been subjected to the brute environment; intelligent labor, as much as the pinch of hunger is felt feels the injustice that permits one man in a few years to become a multi-millionaire while it causes great numbers to be crushed. Intelligent labor knows that if a man can single handed wrest from nature a living a man armed with proper tools and by the mutual increase that comes from exchange can command all the comforts united labor and trade make within the command of any class. To know that between these comforts and the actual condition of labor some one else has prospered without deserving is as plain a proposition as that if all be taken from five but two, three will be the number taken.

What man can do in the isolated state he can improve in the social state. Exchange blesses man and man. Machines bless man, were designed to bless man. But machines must not be made masters, must not be permitted to take the bread from children.

CHAPTER XIV.

OPPORTUNITIES AND RESULTS.

Some victories have already been achieved. Experiment has proven that taxation of land values insures nations against the disorders common to states in which private control of resources prevails. In the late financial panic circling the globe and sweeping nations irrespective of governments, it has been noted as a star's ray in the night gloom that those societies by provisions that rest taxation on the broad basis of land values, alone escaped the general lot. Where opportunities have been reserved to all, the shattering of enterprise, the ruin and desolation that devastated the rest of the business world found a power greater than the power of panic. Orders founded upon economic and industrial justice came through that trying season triumphant. Prosperity abated not but kept even progress at the rate set in other years. This is what the land tax advocates have claimed for the theory, theory no longer, but demonstrated fact. This is a success no other system has been able to present to the world. This is the outcome of an idea pronounced visionary, impossible, destructive. The visionary becomes the real, the impossible, plainest fact, the destructive, salvation. That general prosperity accompanies justice in first relations is no more a dreamer's theme upon which to construct Utopias; it is a visibility all may behold. The bright hope this success presents in contrast to the state found here and in other economic societies governed as we are, suggests the question, Shall right longer wait on the hesitations of timidity, the selfishness of greed?

The people are crowding into towns for the sufficient reason that the country affords them no place. Less than two-thirds our people in the year of grace nineteen hundred live in country homes. With our vast empire of tillable land, a comparatively small part of which is cultivated and that small part to a limited degree, we find men, women and whole families rushing into towns there to seek a precarious and hard-earned living in poorly accommodating workshops, living in cramped, disease breeding quarters. Shut in the livelong year from the influences of nature and knowing largely no amusements but those of the questionable resort, no helpful recreations, they miserably exist. For companionship there is the herding together of dispositions possessing in combination all the elements to disorder and immorality which make cities the centers of vice, of disregard for law and the rights of others, of contempt for human sanctity. The consideration is more than that of mere bread getting. To those who have studied populations in such congregations the consideration is one that cannot be passed over as incident to growing national numbers.

While men must labor for bread, these people must have work. Many are not so fortunate as to secure employment of a permanent nature but live by the proceeds of chance work, always looking for something lasting. These failing, dishonorable practices are entered, for men will live.

In the good old days a few short years ago when monopolizers were oracles and privileged powers grew and waxed mighty as the givers of gifts to labor, these centerings of the people were attributed to moral defects in the heart of man. But the attraction of city life as a cause for these ingatherings is not to be accepted as a considerable one. To these people the glare and glitter of tinsel society can be only fitfully seen through the plate

glass of more than princely palaces as the perfumed air within sways aside the silken draperies. They have no part, no lot in these attractive places. Their contributions to the success of such gorgeous pageantries are in a calm and unquestioning acquiescence in conditions that make possible the distinction between their lives and the lives of those within. Their own homes beyond those who live in modest comfort possess not attractions that would call in friends for an evening's festivities nor fascinations strong enough to draw sane people from a life, where if human companionship is not so readily to be had, the freedom of habit and sanitary advantages more than compensate for the loss. The vices abounding in cities claim few of these recruits at first and many are never corrupted, although their surroundings breathe impunity; many go to early graves through slow starvation rather than seek means to renew the body forces by proceeds of corruptions. The inherently vicious being the only class drawn to cities as better fields for the exercise of evil propensities are in numbers much too few to account in smallest fraction for this widespread hegira.

If men and women were able to make better livings outside towns our urban populations would be increased but little above the fair portion gained by natural growth. If they were able to make better livings on farms, if they were left free to make livings at all, few would make the change that has been made a cause of complaint. There seems to be no room, no occupation anywhere for many of our people. No room in cities, no work where factories are idle. No room, no work in the country while rich harvest fields bear nothing but grass unused by man and beast. No room in almshouses for they are already crowded and officials and private charities have more demands than they can satisfy. No room at the kitchen doors of the prosperous for they are likewise crowded

and all who seek bread in that way are tramps who deserve nothing but severity, whose improvidence can be overcome only by a concerted refusal to encourage. No room indeed for many but in the narrow cells reserved for all death-stark candidates for the potter's field. There is room there and none to reproach even if the seekers for admission should seem to encroach on the rights of the established tenants.

If some of the impositions that make husbandry a doubtful success or an impossibility were removed; if land was reserved to actual users, that they bearing the burdens the work imposes were accorded the right of profits and homes, the coming years would show a drifting away from the cities and back to the farms, a dissipation of idle crowds into societies of prosperous self-employers. This would ensue to greater completeness if restrictions were removed from all kinds of enterprise. We can feed and clothe the world but while the profits of industry are divided between the men who do the work and the men who control the opportunities with the latter receiving all but enough for the sustaining of life by the former, industrial enterprise will advance, halt, or recede with the hopes and fears of men. With profits divided so, production will cease when the profits to capital cease, will be resumed when the state of trade promises profits to capital.

The truth about our rather unexpected state is to be found in that we have sought to stuff our industries, to direct the course of development rather than await the natural unfoldment and prosecution that the natural state of trade in response to demand would call forth. Steady and natural growth will bring permanent and good results. All our industries require is an untrammelled start and to afterward be let alone. In this age of freedom and trade if the natural conditions are not

such as to make a business a predestined success it is a cheaper and wiser policy to leave the development of that industry to await the time when changed conditions will advance the causes of success, buying in the markets where that product is most advantageously offered in the meantime. National prejudice and bargain-counter patriotism based on desire to plunder in home markets have done us inestimable injury through appeals to narrower bigotry and defiance of workers over the water, defiance bought at the price of robbery to all Americans but those "protected." Civilized countries and communities no more need special protection to special industries, no more need law-made conditions to development than their individual members require coats-of-mail for protection against the sword thrusts of their neighbors. Both practices are relics of barbarism, and strange to say, the most uncalled for and the most barbarous in widespread effect has survived to this present day; not alone survived, but presents itself unblushingly to a progressive people and with grave assurance of utility and worth seeks endorsement and promotion. There is one legitimate protection to an industry; it is the demand for the products of that industry. All in addition to this is robbery of consumers and unmasked hostility to other industries.

Less than five per cent. of our population own more than one-half the entire wealth of the country. This one fact is a whole volume on the dangers of monopolization. That puts into a plainer light the causes of disturbances in the labor world. When the few own the nation's wealth they control the liberty and lives of the people comprising the nation. Owning both wealth and opportunities to increasing wealth, that human ownership is complete when the time has been accomplished that is needed for the absorption of all resources. In the decade of 1880 to

1890 the one state of New York gained more in wealth than the gain made by fifteen agricultural states sweeping the Atlantic seaboard south from Mason and Dixon's line to the Gulf and up the Mississippi valley to the Lakes and across to the Rockies. Massachusetts gained more than nine states similarly situated. There is no natural reason why these discrepancies should appear, to show so great. Our laws have been sectional and special that make an increase of such unequal proportions in the wealth of different states. In a normal state of industry exchange equals exchange and disproportions like these do not occur in the natural developments of trade. It is shown, too, that the sections increasing most in wealth present the greatest increase and proportion of paupers. The gain is to individuals and the extremes of poverty and wealth meet. These two states are not rich in the natural wealth forms, they do not in this respect surpass any of the states they have outstripped; they do not in any way naturally possess advantages that would give their residents, unassisted, such an enormous wealth increase over people many times their number living in areas many times the size of these states. The increase was due to the favors of law-granted privileges. The gain once inaugurated by fostering tariffs spread to other forms of industry. A few eastern states control the financial life of our country. The early advantages given by law were closely followed by graspings of wealth sources in the way of transportation lines and lands until to-day the money loaned from this section drains, in demands for interest, the agricultural plains of all surplus wealth above a narrow return to debtors. The one-sided paternalism of our laws taxed the consuming mass of the people for the benefit of the manufacturing class and the financial advantages so gained were put to a doubling of the burden. Now, through the operation of financial laws the money loaned

out by these states has been doubled in obligation, so that, unless a wiser policy is soon adopted these centers of wealth and power will in years to come show a much greater proportionate increase.

In this same period, the most troublesome of that length so far recorded, labor strikes in number reached to nearly ten thousand, involving about three million workers. For a period double in length just preceding this time one-half as many strikes occurred. The growth of the strike and its futility as a mediator in the differences of laborers and hirers may be inferred from the record. Beginning with the crash of 1873 and growing continually worse we have reached a condition where occasional rallies of local and temporary effect are the reverse of our common state. The historian and the statistician of the future will have the occasional visitation of prosperity to record instead of the strike, the panic, the suspension of business, if present tendencies go forward.

The last coal strike of widespread effect cost the miners ten and one-half million dollars and the operators one million, it is said. It has been estimated that it will take ten years for the miners to recover the loss if no other complications arise and there are no wage reductions forced upon them. As a result of that strike the miners received in advanced wages, approximately, two-thirds the increase demanded. These things could not happen under a development of mines by public ownership. This result also helps to weigh the strike at its true worth as a means of preserving wages. The circle has narrowed too much for strikes to retain the efficiency of former days.

The full effect of monopolization on the wage rate is shown by the record in the coal field as fully as in any other. Within the last three years a record of seven and one-half dollars per month per man has been made for a period covering almost a year. This is an extreme ex-

ample of high-wage American labor, it is true, but it goes to show to what the wage earner will be reduced when monopolization has accomplished its end. At this rate, each member in a family of five would average for home expenses, clothing, education, and amusement, a dollar and a half per month. High priced, best paid labor in the world, we say. Plutocratic oracles in their zeal to uphold this high wage standard made the charge that these miners in the memorable summer of 1897 struck not so much for principle and increased pay as for political effect. Base creatures! You should have continued to grow rich, to luxuriate in the elegancies of life at seven and one-half dollars per month, priding yourself in the fact of your highest paid, best educated labor in the world, devoting your energies to the support of the assertion and leave political effects to the Devil who has had, apparently, an all but complete charge of these effects in late years.

A noted statistician has said one and one-half hours of work daily by the working force of the world will do the work of the world. How about that, you captains of industry who fight with stubborn desperation all propositions for the reduction of hours constituting a legal work-day? He does not say, does not mean to say that production is to decrease, that wealth is to increase at a lessened rate from the present growth. Not that; only that the work of the world, sufficient for the needs of the world can be accomplished in ninety minutes in work each day if all the workers are set at it. Utopia is nowhere beside such a state if such a state waits not too much upon its enemies. A man's day's work done other occupations for the time left would suggest themselves. Time for recreation, time to know friends, time for education, time for reflection and communion, time for worship, time for everything good and acceptable. Oh, yes; it is impossible

in the judgment of the objector. So are all propositions looking toward the comfort and betterment of mankind, the equalization of conditions governing the relations of man to man. Situations embracing common sense and common justice are impossible to the objector against these things; but when did a thing continue impossible after the people had laid their hands to it and said, The time for change is upon us. We look upon work as a corrective of false energies engendered by unhealthy social environs, but long hours of work leaving no time and strength for the cultivation of pure social tendencies or intellectual and all refining aspirations have cursed the world always. It is the ignorant mind and uncultured soul that give way to immorality and brutishness in act; almost without exception is this true. It is the intellectual state, the lofty ideals of justice and patriotism, the love of all forms of truth that unite to compose the godliness which exalteth a nation.

But where shall the seven and one-half dollars per month worker appear, at ninety minutes per day? If for a normal day's work under the present system he receives these wages what would he receive then? Wages must come to a system of profit-sharing, a rational sharing of some sort governed by the real value of the contributors to production. In five years the average wage rate has gone down from where the worker received twenty cents on every dollar of value created to where he receives seventeen cents. The worker produces the wealth and the man who controls distribution keeps more than four-fifths of the products. These are capital's earnings we are told. But who made capital, and how, of itself, can capital increase?

This same seven and one-half dollars per month and this decrease of three cents on every dollar produced represents much to American labor. It represents industrial

tyranny; it represents the degradation of labor, of the great mass of the people; it represents servility and the embrutishment of those who have no hope of escape; it represents ignorance and the decline of the physical powers of all that portion of the race coming under its monstrously unjust provisions. The results do not appear with a moiety of the horribleness they will assume in the third generation at the same wage rate. Such wages, representing such results are too dear a rate for this nation which exists to show forth better things.

Three direct and widespread evils out of which grow the confusing multiplicity of consequent wrongs, result from the present-day land system. These evils are concentration of population, high rents, the limitations to occupations. These three attend one upon each of the other, but in the direct results of any of them can be found cause sufficient for the condemnation of the order to which they owe their united origin. The brood of evils they produce, the results of their workings may be known by the condition of the common people, yearly growing worse. Added to monopolizations and results the effects of class legislation and results and we have the total of the common wrong. Under this complexity of difficulties labor gropes, under these multiplied weights labor groans. The wealth that should go, within proper limits plainly apparent, to the laborer solely, is held by capital and monopoly as a means to the further control of producers, and men work for bread with a persistence and anxiety which render life for them little less than a horror, an imprisonment totally devoid of the joys of a properly adjusted life. With some it is already this; with others a like condition is becoming more unavoidable.

Our wealth and prosperity are in a manner fictitious, being of a class and not true of all or even a major part

of the people. As a nation among ourselves we are doing business on a large margin of watered stock—future demands, manipulated markets and the like. Failures, crashes, panics, are the legitimate results of this method. We strain business honor to keep pace with the mad race characterizing our time and way. With us not only is not getting money hell as has been said of a certain people, but to keep out of the hands of the money lender, to escape the receiver, is salvation and paradise; this condition, too, is a feature of monopoly-handicapped, competitive individualism. By our national policy those least able to afford it are tax-ridden to the verge of the pit, and many there be who fall therein. The great bulk of wealth they create does not benefit the creators, they are in fact oppressed by it, but they must still labor for their masters, for out of the dollar they get seventeen cents and with that seventeen cents they buy bread. The creation of wealth is the result of competitive individualism; its discriminating distribution follows monopoly government of resources.

If the lot of the class receiving a competence is growing harder there is a state worse awaiting them if they do not keep up in the unequal warfare,—the lot of those beneath who, as willing and capable, are forced out. This, the dismal scientists say, is the natural order of things, that children should grow up to possess less in worldly advantages and less of the blessings of life than their fathers enjoyed; that men should struggle upward in counteracting strength to those who stand above and push them downward—that for all their efforts they should lose a little, go down a little each decade. Those who talk thus have considered but the past with its wrongs. The future with its possibilities they have shut their eyes against. Those who uphold this as the divine plan consider but two features of

life here,—their own three-score, ten years and the main chance. These two and no more.

An equalization of conditions growing out from an equalized state of opportunity would be the result of a land system that gave land to the users and not the holders and speculators. Control of the land would give wealth to its fashioners, not to some power that has no part in its creation as at present is the distribution between labor and monopoly-capital, seventeen cents to the former, eighty-three cents to the latter. Wealth will always be controlled by those who control the sources from which wealth is drawn. If these sources are held by government for the benefit of all, their development will result in economic equality in the measure of production by those who work. To oppose land nationalization on the ground that its operation would work injustice to holders of present wealth forms is the protest of ignorance. No man would thereby be robbed of aught he had created. Fences would be his, houses would be his, all wealth creations separable from land would be his. The use of the land would still be his, for as long a period as he cared to use it. But the force of the argument for general ownership comes in the fact that there is much land now controlled from which labor is barred which would be resigned to the public under a system of taxing which assesses men on privileges of production. To scoff at public land ownership as impracticable and visionary is to take up the assumptions of the philosophers who proved that the world is flat by the claim that they had proved it could not be round. The belief that labor must be guided and controlled, protected by capital, finds its twin assumption flourishing in the days of the flat-world philosophers, namely, that man needs an ordained guardian to whom to pay taxes, to whom to owe servile obedience; this is the

belief that lingers in remnant in our own fair land that mankind is incapable of self-government, that the power of the people in government is inadequate, their wisdom insufficient, to express and maintain wisdom in any form they may feel called to institute.

Redistribution and attempts at law-maintained equality in wealth possession savors of the present system, and no plan worthy of consideration has been constructed on its specifications. But the odium it entails has been attached to feasible and wise ideas through misrepresentations of those who prosper by present inequalities. Workers have not dreamed of anything so absurdly futile and unreasonable. The honest man who is better suited to work than to live by charity would scorn such ridiculous liberality of well meaning but unfortunately reasoning vagarists. The wisely discriminating man asks the conditions that favor neither prince nor pauper, that make possible neither state financially designated; he demands the one that affords equal opportunities to all. Anything aside from this comes of evil and results as we have seen, can see daily. No one knows better than the single-tax advocate that the conditions he has been charged with trying to inaugurate would be the greatest possible wrong to all classes, and such wrongs, robberies, he has engaged to fight by all means honorable. The virtue of the remedy he presents to the laboring and social world for the evils abroad there is in equalization at the beginning of work and not after it is accomplished.

To talk of restricting within prescribed limits the individual possession, to attempt an apportionment of the natural wealth forces is to confound confusion. Individual wealth, in an economic dispensation that is just to producers, is a matter of personal choice governed by ability; it is not within the province of government to dictate here. In the matter of natural monopoly, under

no land system will a man hold more land than it is profitable for him to hold. If rents were appropriated by government, those who now gather riches from landholding would soon find themselves doing an unprofitable business with the results that they would be glad to leave off landholding and seek other enterprises. Two desirable results. To make present landholders collecting agents for the handling of rent has been wisely suggested. To make rents payable to the government's representative the land shark's grip would be completely chopped off as receipt for rent would be, to all purposes, a guaranty deed in favor of the renter.

It is said an equitable apportionment of the land of the globe would give each inhabitant, at the present population, twenty-three and one-half acres. Land enough for all, surely. Give the frontier farmer this amount and the city lot holder and speculator the same and a more unjust scheme could not be devised. It is because the land speculator and rent extorter even now has the one-half acre in the center of populations that press toward his possession, and the farmer even though he has the twenty-three acres or more, that so much of what is wrong presents itself. It is more because the twenty-three acre farmer pays taxes on his house, his barn, his orchard, his grain field, the most valuable part of his possessions, comparatively, and because the one-half acre man pays taxes on his improvements which are comparatively the least valuable of his holdings that causes to appear the great difference in the worldly prosperity of the struggling farmer and the land millionaire. Tax each of these men upon the values of their land, which values they prevent other men from using and drawing wealth from, and as the city lot is more desirable as a wealth factor than is the little farm remote from town and railway, so will the holder pay more taxes than the farmer. Neither would be disturbed

in their possessions, real or created. Each would pay to society a sum for the use of land, based upon what the land would bring respective holders. This would equalize the opportunity of each to gain wealth. The values that society creates would be devoted to the benefit of society. Stripping these values from each landholder the wealth he creates from the natural source of labor applied to land would be his beyond the claim of man or society.

At present, the burdens are all on one side, the advantages are all on the opposite side. If the land millionaire has the wish to reap larger rents from his realty, by his word he can throw labor out of employment or home until the increase is met, he can close mines until need drives upward the price of the minerals he withholds from consumers. He can afford to have his possessions stand unproductive for a season for he knows the necessities of society will compel payment of advanced rates. If he is a patient man he awaits the natural increase of values following the increased demands upon the limitations of natural resources. Society knows his power, knows the law of rent, but is powerless to establish justice under the present management. Under this management industries and the welfare of all land users who do not, as we say, own the land they occupy, and all users of minerals who do not control deposits are at the mercy of monopoly. How tender this mercy is, rent rates, wage rates and tax rates can testify eloquently; more eloquent still is the testimony of starvation and soup houses. Eloquent too is the testimony of idle hands, strong and eager to do, that are nerveless, unavailing in forced helplessness. Eloquent the misery of dwarfed and hopeless lives that Mammon has captived and chained to drag at her triumphal car. Eloquent the voice of the field that is reaped whose reapers are kept from their reward,—all more eloquent to heavenly hearing than to our earth dimmed ears, but

which will sound with earth shaking thunder in that day when the mills of the gods begin to yield their long-prepared grist.

As before said, the land system evil is not the sole evil and injustice of the present day; it does not, unaided, cause destitution on one side and unmeasured wealth on the other side of the line dividing society. But it is greater than any other, greater than all others for it affects all people. In the many ways by which private land control, its monopolization in effect, works injury to the wealth producers, give rise to those false ideas of industrial control by which we are cursed. Greatest of these is the claim that capital is necessary as an employer of labor, that capital in order to employ labor must be made concessions, given privileges, so there will be ability to employ workers and give them wages. This is a plain inversion of the natural state, undeniably. Capital cannot precede labor, but by giving it power over and privileges denied labor we preserve the inversion. Disorders, starvations, charities; a condition of labor amounting to slavery in its worst features is the outcome of this order. The record of industrial events, reports of humane societies and official figures, the tax for relief in its different forms, bear ample proof of a wrong somewhere but cannot be taken as a fair measure of that wrong. Too many are crushed of whom the world can never know, too many are limited whose undeveloped powers cannot be reckoned in loss to themselves and society. That these should be attributed to minor causes when the prime one stands for all others is to say that death ensues from heart failure when that organ has been pierced by a rifle ball. A comparison of wages with profits, of workers' condition with the condition of monopoly holders can force but one

conclusion and that belief is comprehended in the statement that land power is life power.

The remedy is not formidable; it is not hard to apply. It is not monstrous, impossible, unless seen through the squint-lens spectacles of those to whose interests it is to perpetuate the existing order, or through the fear-dimmed sight of those who stand in awe of the influence and displeasure of this class. The remedy is natural and easy of application. The condition we call protection to labor in its double-dealing and misleading representations we have long suffered from. There is no class better able to guard their own interests if economic forces are properly adjusted than the strong-armed, clear-brained workers of America. It is a foolish mockery to prate of protection to such a class. The emptiness of the claim is doubly apparent in the plea being made by those who seek to exercise the protectorate. The guidance of enemies under any order would lead still further from happiness, lead more directly to turmoil. The claim that capital must develop resources for the benefit of all when capital is presumed to mean capital in private control, the profits to go to private control, is a part of the same fallacy that sets up the cry for protection to workers.

The laborer of America is a man of the same rights and endowments as his employer. He is not a child in intellect; he has not been incapacitated by generations of abuses that necessity for care and guidance may be urged in behalf of his wage rate and the manner of spending the same, as can be put forward with a show of justification in the case of workers in old world states. How far that justification should be the shame of those who seek it is not so much the consideration with us. It is our work to insure so far as we may for all time the absence of any justification for abuses of workers here. The American laborer is the descendant of the man who

fought for American liberty as is the employer, or he is of foreign birth or descent, as is the man who seeks to "protect" him. Why then, should such claims longer be indulged as pretexts upon which to base schemes of plunder? When it is made possible for workers and consumers to protect themselves all that can be done in this line stands accomplished. Let labor be freed, not protected. Freed from imposition of unjust taxes, of restrictions on freedom to labor. Unjust taxes always go to unjust causes and restricted opportunities form the basis of industrial slavery.

The present union of masters with workers is one of profit on one side and bread on the other. Not an exalting union; not one from which blessings are to follow. The relation of landholders to the users of land who have no title to it, is even less lovely. The only connection is rent. On behalf of the landholder it is rent receiving, on the part of the user it is rent payment, a tie of rent, and more rent if possible, but always rent. It is strange that men should enter into relations so bare of beauty, so dry of the milk of human kindness. It is strange that in this day such absurd, unequal and unwarranted relations should exist between men who might be wiser on both sides and men who might be stronger. It is strange that of a social and business condition existing in an age we in our conceit call dark, only the hard features should survive.

In obligations to government, financial as well as personal, exemptions should favor the weak. In personal service the physically unfit are not called to act. Our financial burdens rest upon the workers, the least able, making comparative exemptions to the rich. Leaving out the question of taxation for government purposes the deeper wrong is comprehended in the order that drives us to our present system. The natural and reasonable

source of taxation being appropriated to personal gains we are driven to something else.

A tax on land, regulated by its value to the state, its ability to meet the demands of humanity, would destroy all occasion for other taxes. This would lift the tax weight from improvements, the result of labor. It would remove the barriers to universal prosperity, insuring rewards to the toiler. Happy and profitable life as the common heritage to coming generations this would make possible. To take away a certain amount of a man's wages every year as a fine for building and possessing a house discourages human effort to better the condition of the race; by this method of meeting government expenses labor is made to bear far too much of the weight, and for the privilege of creating the wealth forms upon which taxes are paid to government, is most unjustly made tributary to the opulence of private monopoly. Action, work; the natural state, the destiny and purpose of every valiant soul in this present world,—it seems a poor thing and a most unfortunate that we should be driven by the force of weak favoritism to tax this for the support of government, this, the best part of our material life. It seems an order not of heaven, an injustice of earth only that the conquerors, the brave who have at all times made the material progress of the race and fitted up the earth as an appropriate habitation for divine humanity, should be kept in bondage in gratification of the selfish purposes of human greed.

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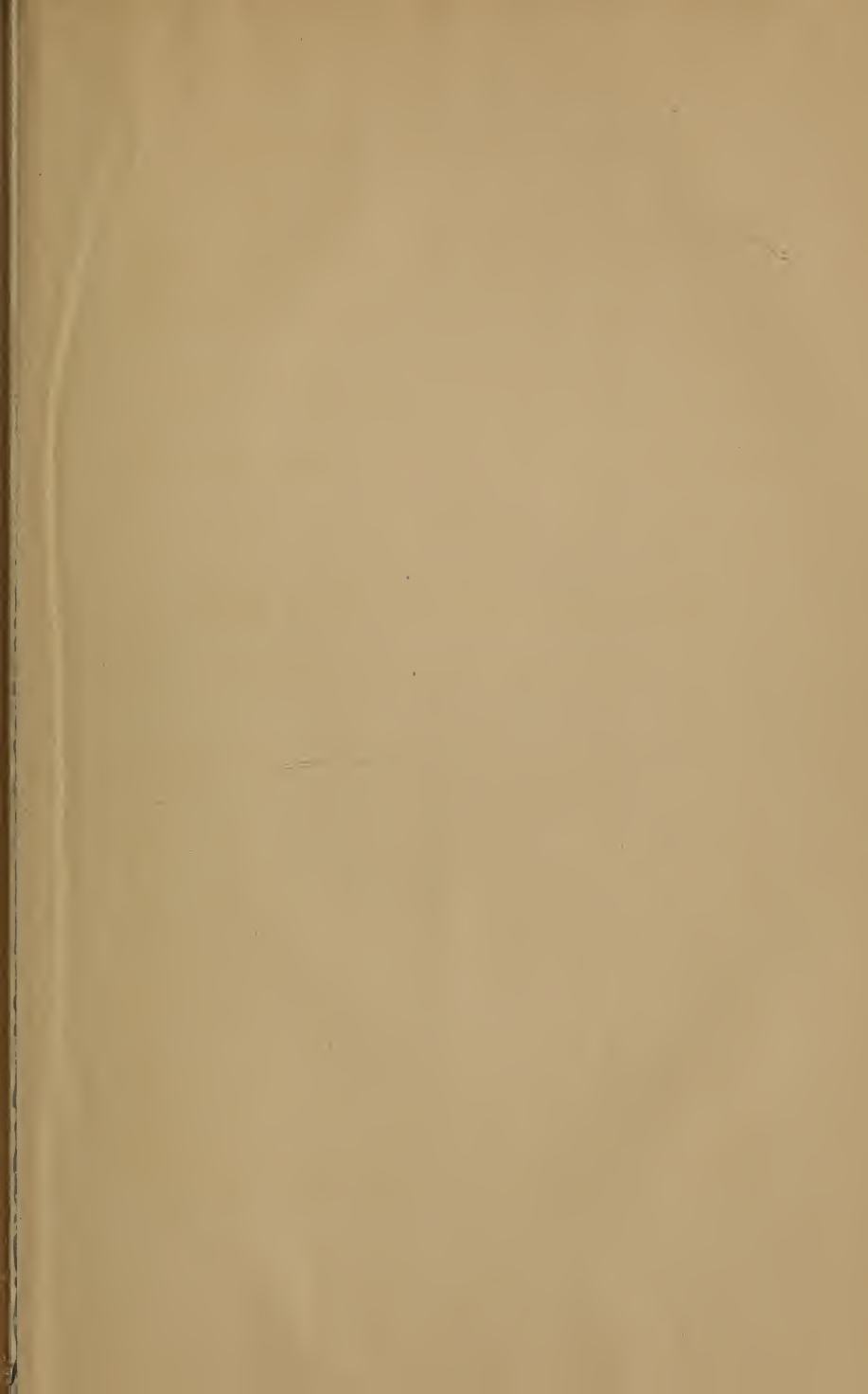
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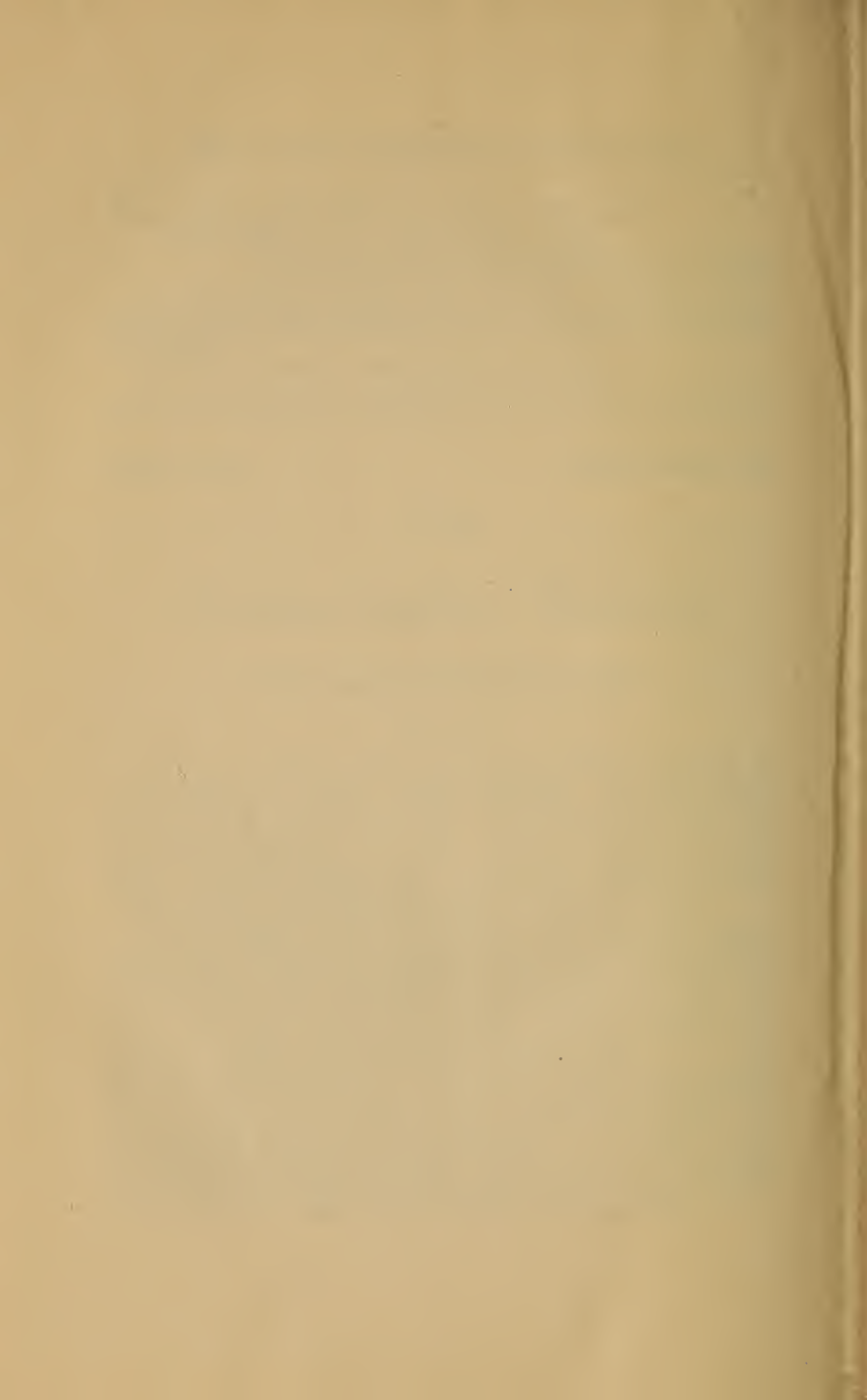
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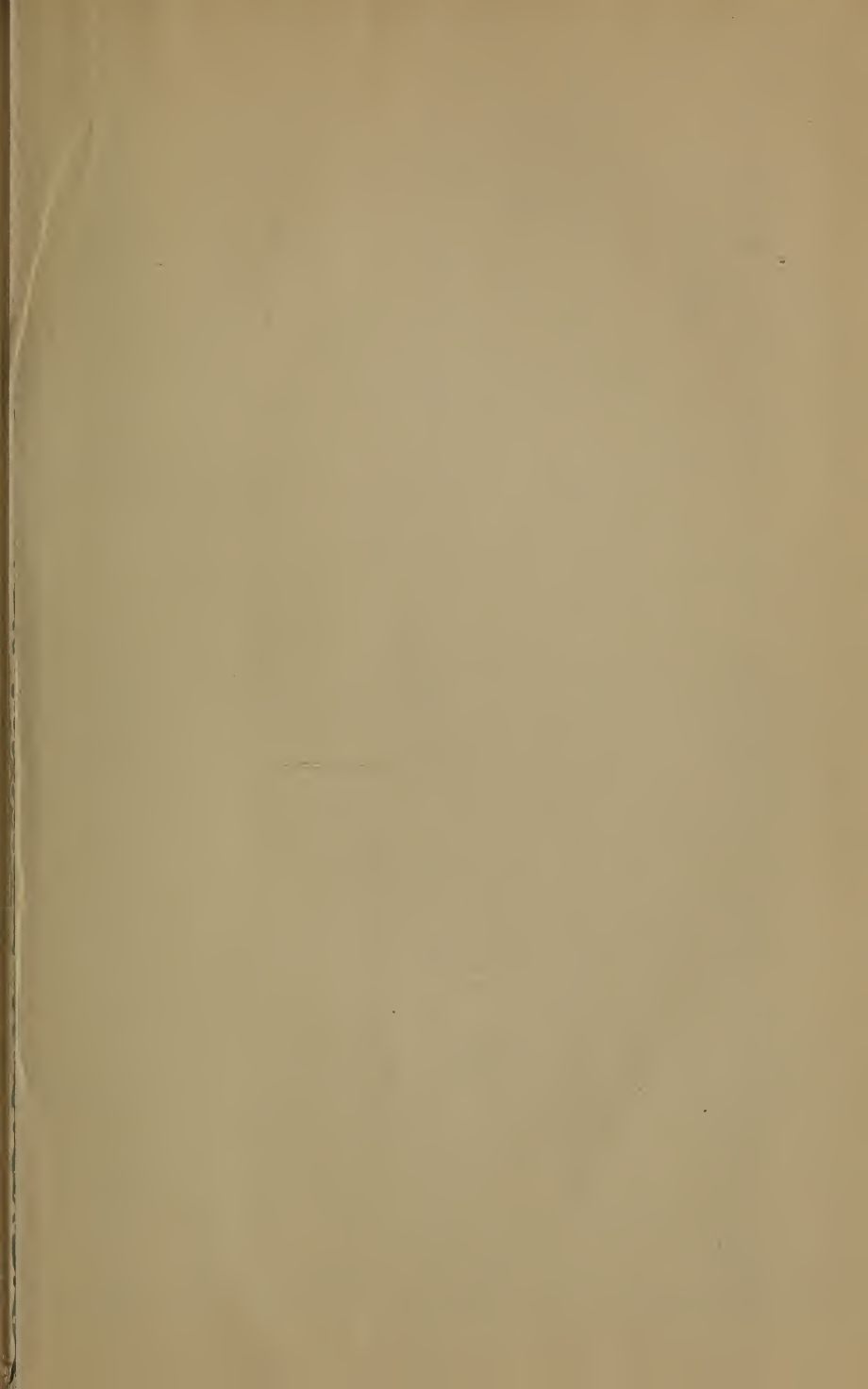
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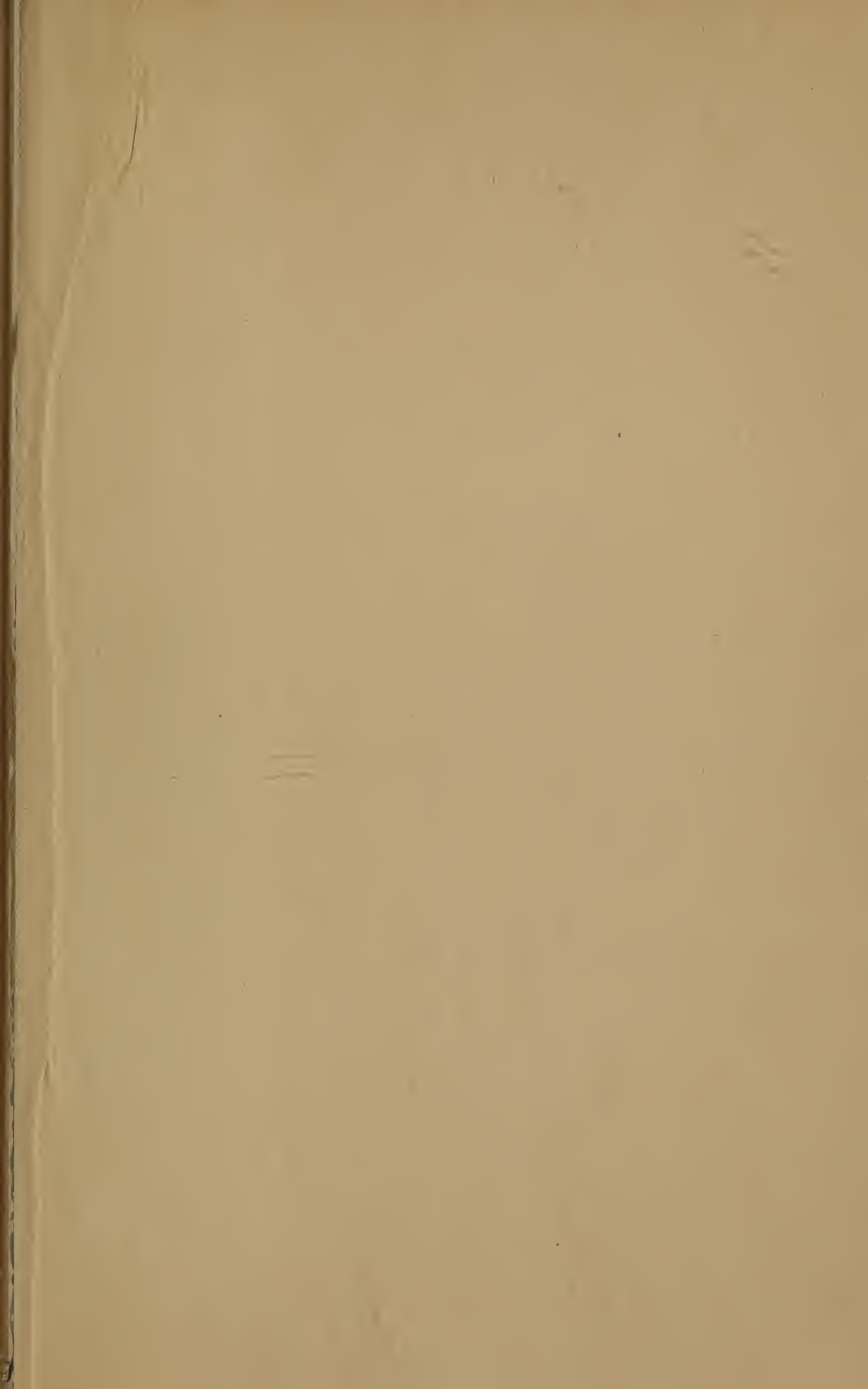








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